This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

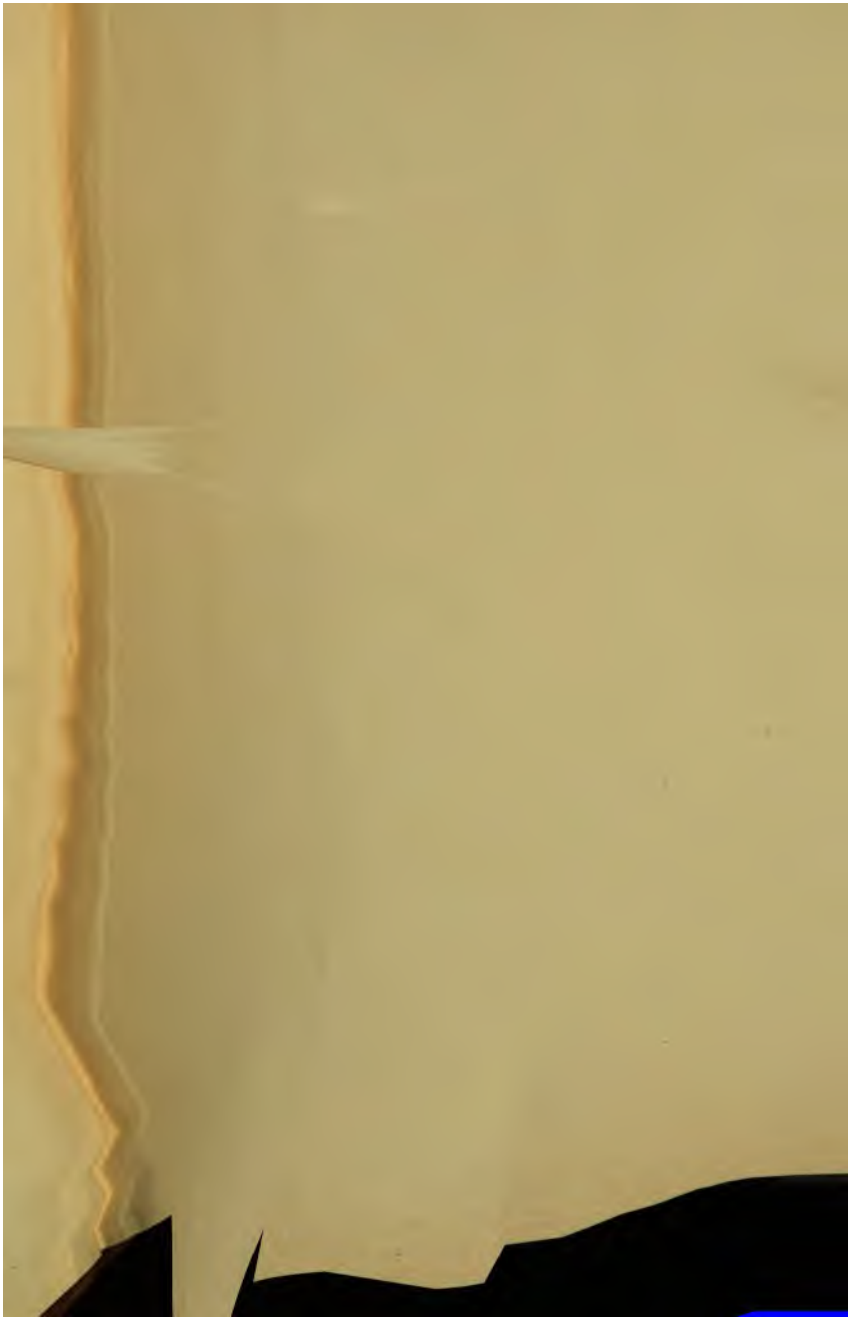
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 06170669 7



303
S

DEMOCRACY.

SE
P

MR. PLATT'S PUBLICATIONS.

PLATT'S ESSAYS, Library Edition.

VOL. I. *(BUSINESS, MONEY, ECONOMY.)*

Royal 8vo., 528 pp., cloth gilt, 6s., with Photograph and Autobiography of the Author.

PLATT'S ESSAYS, Library Edition.

VOL. II. *(LIFE, MORALITY, PROGRESS.)*

Royal 8vo., 528 pp., cloth gilt, 6s., with Photograph and Autograph of the Author.

GOD AND MAMMON, Post 8vo., 480 pp., cloth gilt, 6s.

BUSINESS, Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

MONEY, Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

MORALITY. Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

LIFE, Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

ECONOMY, Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

PROGRESS, Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

POVERTY, Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

MAMMON, Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

LAND, Crown 8vo., 208 pp., cloth limp, 1s.

LEASEHOLDS, Demy 8vo., 120 pp., 6d.

Mr. PLATT, 77, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Will send free by post either of his books, on receipt of the cash for same.

DEMOCRACY.

BY

JAMES PLATT, F.S.S.,

AUTHOR OF

"BUSINESS," "ECONOMY," "LIFE," "MORALITY,"

&c., &c.

Fifth Thousand.

ONE SHILLING.

LONDON:

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.,

STATIONERS' HALL COURT.

1888.

(*All Rights Reserved.*)

SUTTON, SURREY
PRINTED BY CHRISTOPHER HOLT.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction	vii
History	1
Government	23
Democracy	47
Fifty Years of Democracy	91
Fifty Years of Monarchy	127
Concluding Remarks	163

" Things have their root and their completion. It cannot be that when the root is neglected, what springs from it will be well ordered."

INTRODUCTION.

"In knowledge, that man only is to be contemned and despised who is not in a state of transition. . . . Nor is there anything more adverse to accuracy than fixity of opinion."—FARADAY.

THERE can be no doubt amongst thoughtful men of the rapid growth of democracy in England the last twenty years, and the only way by which the present system can hold its own is for the leaders of political thought to advocate such reforms as will grant to the people what democracy would give. We want at once the putting aside of all class distinctions and privileges, the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the protecting by the law of class interests of any kind. We want uniformity of the law throughout the United Kingdom. Land must be treated the same as any other kind of property. If land be let, and the interest in the shape of rent be paid for its use, the debt should be legally cancelled upon returning the landowner his land. Land must cease to have any privileges over other property. Transfer of land should be as simple and economical as the transfer of Consols. The right of perpetual tenure so long as the rent is paid for the use of land or house; the right of house owner to be paid for house he has bought or built, or for any improvement he has made that adds to the letting

value of a house, if he wishes to give up or sell the same; uniformity of laws giving equal division of land and other property amongst sons and daughters of persons dying intestate. All expenditure on behalf of the State to be subjected to the keenest criticism, and any one taking a bribe, or appropriating in any way the revenue of the State, to be punished to the very utmost. Taxation to be as simple as possible, and levied upon the property or the income of every one, male and female, of the age of twenty-one years. All differences in the laws between male and female, political or social, voting, property, marriage, divorce, to be abolished, the object being to be strictly just and impartial, no privilege to sex or class, before the law *all alike*, same privileges and responsibility.

The Representatives, and more especially those selected for the government of the country, should be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion; any accusation of bribery or corruption should be taken up by the Public Prosecutor. Every effort should be made to get as representatives men of the highest moral and intellectual character, so that such scenes as have recently disgraced our Parliament, of men calling each other "liars," and threatening each other, would be impossible. Such men bring Parliament into contempt. It is imperative discussi on be carried on decorously, and that the authority of the Speaker be supported, and his decision be at *once* upheld by all. We want the "*Best Men*" in the State to do the best possible, "not for a class or for a party," but for "the country." We want patriots, not partisans. I would abolish parties, and give to each office of the State the best men the State has to do its particular work, and rely for the carrying of a measure to its adaptability for its object ensuring its acceptance by a majority of the representatives. There must be a Ministry;

there will be those who are anxious to become Ministers, but there need be no dividing line of principle, no Whig or Tory names to separate them. They should all represent their country, and each office should be filled by the man best fitted to do its work. The Revenue and Expenditure, the Army, Navy, Civil Service, Law, Bankruptcy, Public Health, Railways, Public Improvements, Sewage, Gas, Water, Local Loans, National Debt, all require a special knowledge of before any reformation can be made; therefore it is as unwise to have parliaments for too short a term, as it is to keep changing the heads of such departments because of a change of Government. The nation ought not to be appealed to more frequently than every five years, except in cases of *great emergency*.

The great fear of democracy is jobbery and corruption, as in New South Wales, partly caused by the general apathy with regard to politics, of all classes of the community. Politics should be taught at school; it should be a disgrace to any adult not to take an interest in the way his country is being governed. This apathy in New South Wales is very remarkable. The next point of note is the absence of parties, not for the reason I have stated above, to obtain the "men best fitted to do the nation's work," but from an utter indifference as to how it is done. The Parliament ceases to exist in three years, but it very rarely attains that age. The quick succession of Ministers is simply bewildering. During the first six months of Lord Carrington's governorship there were three different Ministries.

The following extract gives us briefly the evils of democracy. It is taken from a letter upon "Democracy in New South Wales," sent to the Editor, and published in the *Fortnightly Review*, February, 1887, by Augustus Nash, Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.

"No English politician could fail to notice the absence from political life of the leading men in the country. He would find them immersed in business, in squatting pursuits, or what in England would be called country life, or in the practice of the professions, but would rarely see them in the Assembly, still more rarely in the Ministry. He would, on the other hand, be extremely shocked to hear accusations of the most shameless corruption constantly brought against Ministers, Members, and even the House itself; and that, too, not by men who, despising or disliking the institutions of the colony, hold aloof from them, but by the very members of the House, and in the columns of the daily Press.

"For the practical work of legislation New South Wales is undoubtedly many years behind England, and on some subjects, such as insolvency and public health, most lamentably so.

"Such a matter as law reform is almost ignored by the Assembly. It requires special knowledge, and excites no popular enthusiasm; consequently an old Insolvency Act of 1841 is still in force in the colony, though there is not an honest trader that does not annually lose considerable sums from the want of a more adequate measure.

"Owing to the absence of a Public Health Act, typhoid fever has become a frightful scourge, while the unsanitary condition of Sydney shocks every visitor. But if legislation is thus backward, the activity of the Executive surpasses anything imagined since Plato's Republic. The Government, not content with carrying us from place to place in its own railways, carries us through the streets in its own trams, makes bridges, repairs roads, disposes of sewage, owns wharves, builds harbours and docks, engages in manufactures, and in a hundred and one ways interferes with the natural energies of the people.

"The Civil Service is enormous, though, properly speaking, there is very little work for a civil service in New South Wales. There is no department of foreign affairs, so no foreign office is required; no army, no navy, no India. The necessary work might, it is generally believed, be better done by less than one half the twelve thousand and odd persons who overcrowd the Civil Service of the country.

"The overcrowding is due to the fact that all appointments are political, and a Minister has to dispose of his less successful constituents somewhere. As a consequence, our railways, it is said, enjoy the services of two men a mile more than are found necessary on other railway systems—a not inconsiderable item in a country where the lowest wages are seven shillings a day. This ill-constituted Civil Service is not without a disastrous effect on a considerable section of the population, who, despising retail trade or other honest means of obtaining a livelihood, adopt what is almost a recognised profession—become billet-hunters, as they are called, and wait till their importunity and the weakness of some Minister provides them with bread at the expense of the country.

"Nor is it only in the Civil Service that such extravagance is found.

"In the midst of wonderful prosperity the public debt of the colony has risen to the alarming dimensions of £41,000,000, involving an annual payment of £1,600,000 in interest. A large part of this sum has been expended on railways, some of which it is now admitted do not pay their interest, and on tramways which are almost a dead loss. But the borrowed money has been also expended, to the amount of many millions, on elaborate buildings in the most out-of-the-way places; enormous court-houses, occupied for three weeks in the year, and magnificent

bridges over small streams, where one-fifth of the expenditure would have met all requirements.

"This inordinate expenditure, often on unproductive works, is the result of each member claiming, as the condition of his allegiance to the Ministry, the employment of a certain sum of public money annually in his constituency. The Ministry are thus placed in the unfortunate dilemma of having to propose expenditure which they know is unnecessary, or else having to lose their places. An informal compact is entered into by the majority to stand by the proposals of the ministry, each man thus obtaining the votes of the rest for his own particular object.

"The splendid prosperity and great wealth of New South Wales have made the English people anxious to lend money to the colony. But this facility of borrowing is only too likely to be abused by an assembly so constituted; and although the amount of our existing debt need give no alarm to our creditors, still, for a people who, all told, hardly number one million, a debt of forty-one millions must necessarily mean a very heavy burden. And while extravagance is thus unchecked, there is no adequate inquiry into the finances. It very frequently happens that the expenditure has been incurred before the country is informed of the fact or the assembly has voted the money. For example, will it be believed that up to the present time (October, 1886) no official account of the expenditure on the Soudan Campaign has been furnished to Parliament or to the country? The most gloomy part of the picture is undoubtedly the financial future. Probably no ministry would survive the attempt to reduce the annual expenditure by two millions, a reform which would involve the dismissal of about one-third of the present Civil Service. Nor would it be easy to restrict railway constructions to those lines only which show a reasonable prospect of

payment. There is a temporary benefit, felt by every one, when a large expenditure of borrowed capital takes place, and the incubus of the interest does not concern the workmen, who have no special affection for New South Wales, and will only remain in the country as long as wages are high and work abundant.

"The result is, that every assembly is elected by those who have an interest in the lavish expenditure, and who recognise that economy in the government would mean for the workman stoppage of wages, for the storekeeper, stoppage of business.

"Nor is the difficulty merely financial. Supposing a stop put to railway extension, a reform clearly dictated by financial laws, what is to be done with the thousands of navvies, who with their families would be suddenly left penniless? This army of navvies is our modern Prætorian Guard.

"Democracy, again, has developed trades unionism to so alarming an extent that all commerce is now completely at the mercy of the leaders of the workmen.

"During the last eighteen months large crowds of "unemployed" have almost daily congregated at their meeting place in Sydney, to hear the speeches of their leaders. Many of these men are, of course, mere loafers, but there are also numbers of genuine workmen, whose dismissal has been rendered necessary by the high rate of wages artificially kept up by the trades unions. Were the rate of wages regulated by supply and demand there would not be a sober and capable man out of work in any of the Australian colonies. Curious and almost incredible as it may seem, the leading principle of trades unionism has seized even the unemployed, who steadily refuse all work unless the remuneration comes up to the sum which they have themselves fixed as the minimum. Thus it appears that in Queensland, during October, 1886, one hundred and fifty of the

unemployed were offered their rations and 15s. per week for work up the country, and that all refused, saying they preferred to starve. Now 15s. a week, all found, was until lately considered fair wages, being equivalent to at least 25s. a week; so we may be allowed to doubt the probability of the dreadful alternative. The right to live, or rather, to receive good wages, is being recognised by the Australian Governments, who are making, and are perhaps compelled to make, humiliating concessions to the unemployed.

"It requires no prophet to foretell from this combination of circumstances great difficulties in the relations of labour and capital. The working classes in Australia frankly admit that they will not allow wages to follow the law of supply and demand; like their American brethren on the Pacific Slope, they have caused Parliament to pass restrictive laws against Chinese competition, and they are now embarking on a crusade against the ocean-going steamers of such companies as the P. and O., or the Orient, for these, they allege, interfere with the inter-colonial trade, which ought to remain an absolute monopoly of the Australian working man.

"It follows that emigration agents completely mislead intending emigrants when they quote the wages obtained by workmen in New South Wales, or indeed in Australia generally, as any guide to their clients; for such wages are given only to those who obtain work; the less fortunate, or less skilful, have to put up with, not a smaller wage, or one proportional to their skill, but no wages at all. In the meanwhile, the labourers, thus deprived of this dividend from the common wage fund, rely, and generally with success, in forcing the Government to employ them in work that is only partially beneficial to the state, and for which they are often wholly unfitted. In these two directions modern democracy

appears in Australian communities to be tending towards a crude Socialism; namely, in the omnipresence of the Government and in the assertion of the right of every man to demand of the Government, not only such wages for work as will keep him and his family above starvation, but such as will place him nearly, if not quite, on a level with workmen in ordinary employment.

"The great question, however, that demands an answer from every English Radical is, whether the changes in the direction of democracy to which he has been looking forward in England, and which he sees accomplished facts here in New South Wales, are really changes in the direction of progress. Can it be said that democracy has proved itself competent to perform the functions of government under these conditions, and in the absence of such highly educated agents of democracy as the leaders of the English Liberal party?

"The people of New South Wales will compare favourably in most respects with the population of any other country. Their kindness, generosity, and hospitality are proverbial. They are loyal and patriotic, and willing to volunteer even unwise sacrifices for the good of the Empire. In no country is the ideal of English home life better realised than in the ordinary households of New South Wales. Can any one say that such a people is adequately represented, or indeed, represented at all, by the House of Assembly? Nor are we allowed to hope that this low tone of political life is likely to terminate with the removal of some temporary cause. When we follow the history of the colony since the introduction of responsible government, the number of men of character and attainments engaged in politics seems to have decreased with every election; nor will the record of the present Session, which has been unusually fertile in scenes of disorder, be likely to attract any man of self-respect and character."

The closing part of Mr. Nash's admirable letter might have been written in anticipation of the English Parliament of 1887. The whole letter is full of wise words of warning to us, to avoid the rocks to which we seem to be drifting. Matters here might not go the length they have in New South Wales, but the tendency of modern Liberals and Radicals is in the same direction. The government is the sole and universal remedy for all diseases of the social and political body; and for several winters in succession we have been told that men have a right to live, and if they cannot obtain work, it is the duty of the State to find it for them, admit this, and we should have here the same unproductive works as in New South Wales. It must be told to the people by their leaders that to find them employment is outside the province of Government. Also, that it is impossible to put aside the laws of supply and demand, which will, whether men like it or not, regulate the price of labour, and all other commodities.

The late Mr. Fawcett sympathised with the poor, but he knew it was a cruel kindness to delude the people by proposing any scheme of government relief, which, however well intentioned, would of necessity increase the evil it sought to alleviate, if it lessened individual responsibility, by encouraging the people to rely less upon themselves and more upon the State. There is only one safe road for the well-being of any people, to increase their industry, thrift, and self-restraint. On the question of State works for the unemployed, Mr. Fawcett said :—"As all experience shows that an industrial work carried out by a government is not likely to lead to greater economy than if it is constructed through private agency, a work which is not carried out by private enterprise because it is unremunerative will in all probability be still more unremunerative if it is undertaken by the government. We are thus again brought face to face with the same difficulty which had

to be met when considering the schemes for the nationalisation of the land, and we have to ask on whom would fall the loss which would result. To such an inquiry there can be but one answer; the State, as we have often had occasion to remark, far from having any great store of wealth from which draughts can be freely made without any one being the poorer, has to obtain every shilling it expends from taxation. . . . . All taxation takes from the pockets of the people a great deal more than it yields to the State." What is the use of experience unless we profit by it? What lesson does the past teach us about Poor Law relief? Mr. Fawcett regarded the relaxations of the Poor Law of Elizabeth, through the abolition of the workhouse test by Gilbert's Act in 1782, and the institution of the allowance system by East's Act in 1815, as having brought England nearer to ruin than she had ever been brought by any other cause whatever. He wrote:— "The stringent provisions of the Elizabethan Poor Law were gradually relinquished; out-door relief, instead of being discouraged, was directly fostered by various Acts of Parliament; a lax administration of the law became general, and the result was that pauperism assumed such alarming proportions about the year 1832 as almost to threaten the country with national bankruptcy and permanent ruin."

The riots in the streets of London during the winter of 1887 shews us that there must be no hesitancy about this "right to work" theory. The people must be made distinctly to understand that to find them work is outside the province of the government. If there be distress, want of help, the Poor Law should give the necessary relief. But although done kindly and without stint, it would be a great error of judgment to tempt the people to become paupers by relaxing any of the restrictions imposed upon able-bodied paupers. The right not to starve, and, if able, to do some

work as an equivalent, is a very different thing to the government becoming employers of labour. The government in its legislative and executive action is nothing more than human society protecting and developing its own welfare. All legislation, and all government, is strictly social, but between social and socialistic there is an impassable gulf.

Socialism has been well defined as "The logical creation of a curtailed type of humanity, the effort to adapt the living man to this type, the interference of public authority in every branch of public endeavours, restrictions put upon labour, exchanges and property, upon the family and education, upon worship, habits customs, and sentiments, the sacrifice of the individual to the community, the omnipotence of the State—such is the Jacobin theory. None could be more retrograde; for its object is to bring the modern man back to social forms which, for eighteen centuries, he has already passed through and left behind him. During the historical era which preceded our own, and especially in the old Greek or Latin cities, in Rome and Sparta, which the Jacobins take for their models, human society was shaped after the pattern of an army or convent. In a convent, as in an army, one idea, absorbing and unique, predominates—the aim of the monk is to please God at any sacrifice, the soldiers make every sacrifice to obtain a victory; accordingly, each renounces every other desire and entirely abandons himself, the monk to his rules, and the soldier to his drill. . . . . In reality, not only in Greece and in Rome, but in Egypt, in China, in India, in Russia, in Judæa, in Mexico, in Peru, during the first stages of civilisation, the principle of human communities is that of animal or insect communities; the individual belongs to the public, just as the bee to its hive and the ant to its anthill; he is simply an organ within an organism; in diverse forms, and in diverse application, authoritative socialism alone prevails."—H. A. TAINE.

My objection to Socialism, is, that it reduces man to a State automaton. It is said by socialists, "that the earth belongs first of all to the inhabitants of it; and that every person alive ought to have a subsistence before any one has more." One of the proposed remedies, is, for each person to work fewer hours each day. I love work, but should not object to the majority working less and enjoying more; but we must take human nature as it is, the Creator has not made men equal, and there is nothing in our experience of mankind to justify us in expecting that the men able to earn will divide with their less fortunate brethren. "Brotherly love" is a beautiful sentiment, but not practical, because, say the "Christian Socialists," of the present competitive system of society. Competition has its faults, but its benefits are much greater, it is God's remedy to check man's selfishness. But it is said Socialism must be right, because while a socialist *need* not be a Christian, a true Christian is logically *bound* to be a socialist. It is not surprising that there are socialists, as Socialism offers food to the hungry, rest for the weary, and work for the unemployed. But how are these promises to be fulfilled? By the sacrifice of those factors which have built up society—"Individuality and Competition?" Abolish "private ownership of property," you kill the motive that acquires property, you undo the work of ages; you sacrifice the individual to the community, henceforth each life must conform to a certain standard, no one may develop apart and for himself, no one may act or think except within fixed lines. For a time the Church, then the State, or the two acting together, had an absolute mastery over the individual, a man could not claim as his own, against these despots, jointly and severally, neither his possessions, his children, his personality, his opinions, nor his conscience. What

a struggle it must have been for our forefathers to conquer this ancient system, they have succeeded. 'The individual has liberated himself by degrees, and from century to century he has extended his domain; the two chains which once bound him fast to the community are broken or become loosened.' Which is right? The slavery of the ancient, or the freedom of modern society? Can there be a doubt? Trace back each period of deliverance by man, each link cast aside that kept him on a level with the animal creation; each step upwards in culture and reasoning powers, is due to "freedom of the individual," free and unfettered, to think and act for himself, to do with his talents what he considers will be most to his advantage, living his life as if he was a steward of God's, responsible for the use or abuse of his powers.

Now, as in all times we must remember what human nature is, and the temptations that beset men in power, besieged by relatives, friends, constituents, for the places at their disposal, or that they can make. In the past our civil service was a refuge for younger sons, and others that the ruling class came into contact with. The patronage still exists, if the vacancies go into another channel, and no matter which class has the predominance in the government of a country, the same result will follow. What we have to do is to select the best men that offer, and as in a well conducted house of business have all the details carefully scrutinised and checked. The expenditure of the United Kingdom for 1887-8 was £87,424,000, and the estimated expenditure for 1888-9 is £86,910,000, an enormous expenditure the whole of which needs a most searching criticism by the best experts we have. In 1868-9 the estimates for the Civil Service were £9,173,000; for 1888-9 they are £18,145,000! The new system of auditing introduced 1868-9 made a little difference, but

there is a genuine increase of £8,293,000 in the Civil Service expenditure of Great Britain since 1868-9. So that our experience confirms that of New South Wales, increased expenditure with increase of political power by the people. And my own opinion is, that here as in New South Wales, unless we get as leaders men with the wisdom of Solon, and the integrity of Aristides, we shall not be able to follow the wise and patriotic democratic government of the United States, but shall allow the "paternal government" system that has been gaining power here lately, to drift us into the fatal current of Socialism, which will ruin the Empire.

We want as representatives men with more moral courage, men competent to lead, men who would scorn to follow for the sake of popularity, but who will do what they believe to be right for the benefit of the community. We want practical men who will explain to the people that by the working of the economic laws, under a system of commercial and industrial freedom, a kind of automatic socialism is going on. Mr. Goschen's inaugural address as President of the Royal Statistical Society, Dec. 6th, 1887, upon "The increase of Moderate Incomes," proves that the present tendency is to improve the social position of the great central body of society, and to reduce the social position of the higher class. We find the number of Income Tax Assessments under Schedule D, between £150 and £500, in 1877, were 285,754, in 1886, 347,021, or an increase of 21.4 per cent. But between £500 and £1000 there was a slight decrease, being 32,085 in 1877, and only 32,033 in 1886,; whilst incomes of £1,000 and upwards were 22,848 in 1877, and only 22,298 in 1886, or a decrease of 2.40 per cent. It will be said this does not refer to the masses, and although it must be admitted, still the influence is in their direction. and if at present the great

bulk of the people have not benefitted by obtaining a share of the accumulated wealth, they have gained greatly by the Free Trade policy, by the greater cheapness of what they buy with their wages.

It will help you in deciding which form of government is best, Monarchic or Democratic, if you understand the end or purpose it is intended to perform. There must be in every State some supreme power, or recognised legitimate government, it matters not whether called Monarchic or Democratic, if brought into existence by the general will of the community, maintained by its consent, and employed for its benefit in protecting the interests of the collective body of the people without needlessly encroaching on individual liberty. My opinion is, that the best government is that which secures the utmost amount of individual freedom to each, that is compatible with the freedom of all. Governments are supposed to exist for the purpose of securing the happiness of all; this is an antiquated fiction. Each individual must look after his own happiness, what we want of our government is as little interference as possible, so as to allow scope for the free development of individual activity, and protection for life and property.

I have always objected to the State doing anything for individuals that they can and should do for themselves—even education for the people—how much better if the people would practice self-denial and thrift, and have the pleasure of paying for the education of their own children. For those who will not, the State must, but it should be an education calculated to enable them to earn an honest living, and prepare them for the battle of life—a technical and not a scholastic education.

The punishment of criminals is an important element of government, and great care is necessary with the young, or for the

first offence, so to punish as to try and make them honest afterwards. How to keep people honest, or reclaim them when they have become criminal, are two very important questions. We trust a great deal to education for the former, but, although no doubt it is a powerful agent in the prevention of crime, book learning we know by experience will not keep people from it—on the contrary, it is a means by which some men prey upon their more ignorant fellow creatures. Reformatory institutions and a more vigilant police have nipped crime in the bud the last twenty years, by bringing young criminals under the influence of wholesome discipline, and nipping crime in its first stage; still, spite of all our efforts, there will remain in every community a certain residuum of criminals, who have unfortunately inherited their vicious propensities: but if we can check a disease, by going farther we may eventually cure it, and it is possible, if we take the right means, and at the right time. The young should be removed from bad examples, should be trained to work, and more especially those that are discharged from prison should be able to earn an honest living, if so disposed. At present the majority are discharged homeless, penniless, friendless, nowhere to go but with their old associates; how can we wonder if they lapse again into crime, and the State has to support them? All this is avoidable, if our system gave facilities for a better state of things. We may aim at more careful classification of our criminal class; the keeping by themselves those whom there is a chance of reclaiming; as it is the youth and the hardened brute are thrown together—the going to prison makes them rogues for life, instead of which, by proper attention at the first conviction, many might be reclaimed and made useful members of society, if the proper means were adopted. We have lots of waste land at home and in the colonies that might be utilised, work to be done that

would benefit the State, that although it would not pay a speculator to perform, would pay the State to do as a means of breaking the prison class into regular habits of industry. Every prisoner should work, prisons should be self-supporting, the prisoners should be tempted to work, by offering them inducements in the shape of extra comfort whilst in prison, or a sum of money when they leave, according to what they have produced.

We expect too much from government, and do too little in our training of the young for the battle of life. Our Educational system is a relic of the past; too much time is given, too much honour bestowed on a knowledge of dead languages and ancient history; instead of modern knowledge and spoken languages. We want a system that will make men observe and think, practical men not theorists, thinkers not dreamers, men who can use their brains, eyes, and hands. Starting the world with habits of thrift and industry, with an ambition within them, kept active by a sense of duty, to follow out persistently as their earthly aim the highest result their nature admits of, steadfastly and untiringly to the end. Cognisant of the poverty round about them, anxious to help but too clear-headed to be misled by sentimentalists, however good their intentions, by attempting to raise up the lower by pulling down the higher. The only permanent good by individuals or nations, by governments whether Monarchic or Democratic, must be by a method that will rouse the latent energy within men, and rouse their self-esteem to a desire for bettering their condition by their own efforts, their own industry and thrift.

The teaching required, is that "inexorable law" governs the life of man; that duty, not liberty, is the condition of a healthy, happy life. The weakness of human nature, its causes and how

alone they can be removed, is the lesson men have to learn. The object should be to ensure an unflagging aspiration after that life which is most beneficent to the community, try to reach :—

> "That present heaven, be to other souls
> The cup of strength in some great agony.
> Enkindle generous ardour, feed pure love,
> Beget the smiles that have no cruelty:
> Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
> And in diffusion ever more intense."
>
> (GEORGE ELIOT.)

Genuine political and social improvements, to be durable, must be the result of inward change rather than of outward legislation. For the progress of mankind there is nothing more essential than the just discrimination between what is curable in the body politic and what has to be endured. No reform bill, no land bill, can possess the magical property whereby a sudden daring transformation can be accomplished. On the contrary, abrupt transitions should be shunned as dangerous to order and law, which alone are certain to insure a steadily collective progress the only means to this end consisting in men using their brains to get knowledge—ignorance will of necessity engender vice and misery, whether every man or woman has a vote or not. The privilege of voting is useless until the masses are able to discern the right men as their representatives, and careful only to confide the power to the hands of the truly wise, those who know how to regulate life "according to the truest principles mankind is in possession of."

"This is only one example of the laws by which human lives are linked together; another example of what we complain of when we point to our pauperism, to the brutal ignorance of multitudes among our fellow-countrymen, to the weight of taxation laid on us by blamable wars, to the wasteful channels

made for the public money, to the expense and trouble of getting justice, and call them the effects of bad rule. This is the law that we all bear the yoke of—the law of no man's making, and which no man can undo. Everybody now sees an example of it in the case of Ireland. We who are living now are suffering by the wrong-doing of those who lived before us; we are sufferers by each other's wrong-doing, and the children who come after us will be sufferers from the same causes."—GEORGE ELIOT.

How is it that with the experience of ages we know so little about the science of government? How is it that after such fearful sacrifices for freedom, men in any difficulty still fly to government, still seem to yield to the despotic rule, the absolute sway of one? The only reply is that men are not properly trained to bear the responsibility of life; to be self-reliant, self-dependent, thoughtful, rational, self-respecting men. Every man should be anxious for and resolved to have all the liberty he can get, but ready and willing to sacrifice his individual interests or liberty, if for the good of the State. The aim of all should be the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the developing upwards and onwards of humanity through the instrumentality of society. Above all we need as representatives of the people, as legislators unselfish men, the records of whose lives will entitle them to join the:—

"Choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence: live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end in self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues."

DEMOCRACY.

HISTORY.

HISTORY teaches us that:—

> "By their own deeds men ascend, and by their own deeds
> men do fall;
> Like the diggers of a well, and like the builders of a wall."

"It is a favourite maxim of mine that history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object—that is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future. Now, if this maxim be sound, the history of England ought to end with something that might be called a moral." (PROFESSOR SEELEY.)

History is a science and should be read and studied to help us in our conduct to-day, more especially by the politicians. History is a record of the past, and by its aid we should avoid the errors of those who have preceded us. "The field of History should not merely be well tilled, but well peopled. None is delightful to me, or interesting, in which I find not as many illustrious names as have a right to enter it. We might as well in a drama place the actors behind the scenes and listen to the dialogue there, as in a history push valiant men back and protrude ourselves with husky disputations. Show me rather how great projects were executed, great advantages gained, and great

calamities averted. Show me the generals and the statesmen who stood foremost, that I may bend to them in reverence; tell me their names that I may repeat them to my children. Teach me whence laws were introduced, upon what foundation laid, by what custody guarded, in what inner keep preserved. Let the books of the treasury lie closed as religiously as the Sibyl's; leave weights and measures in the market place, commerce in the harbour, the arts in the light they love, philosophy in the shade; place history on her rightful throne, and at the sides of her, Eloquence and War." (WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.)

The history of one's country should be familiar to all its people; its value is incalculable as a warning and a guide. If history teaches one lesson more than another, it is, to confirm Burke in thinking that "a great empire and a small mind go ill together," progress upwards at every stage may be traced to the actions of great souls. History carefully read gives us facts for our guidance, a correct data to act upon. "What wonderful things are events, the least are of greater importance than the most sublime and comprehensive speculations." (CONINGSBY.) I disagree with Macaulay; in fact he contradicts himself. In his well-known essay on History, contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* in 1828, he says:—"Facts are the mere dross of history. It is from the abstract truth which inter-penetrates them, and lies latent amongst them like gold in the ore, that the mass derives its whole value. . . . . No past event has any intrinsic importance. The knowledge of it is valuable only as it leads us to form just calculations with respect to the future." How can the facts of history be dross, if by their aid we are able to avoid the errors of those who have preceded us? The present is better than the past, the future will be superior to the present, just to the extent that we recognise the value of historical facts, and see in them not dross, but pure gold.

History might be made more attractive, not only because every one should be tempted to thoroughly read and re-read it, but to give us correct knowledge of the past. "A truly great historian would reclaim those materials the novelist has appropri-

ated. We should not then have to look for the wars and votes of the Puritans in Clarendon, and for their phraseology in 'Old Mortality,' for one half of King James in Hume, and for the other half in the 'Fortunes of Nigel'! . . . . Society would be shown, from the highest to the lowest, from the royal cloth of state to the den of the outlaw, from the throne of the legate to the chimney-corner where the begging friar regaled himself. Palmers, minstrels, crusaders, the stately monastery with the good cheer in its refectory and the high mass in its chapel, the manor house with its hunting and hawking, the tournament with the heralds and ladies, the trumpets and the cloth of gold, would give life and truth to the representations." (MACAULAY.)

"If History is Philosophy teaching by examples, the writer fitted to compose history is hitherto an unknown man. Better were it that mere earthly historians should lower such pretensions, and, aiming only at some picture of the thing acted, which picture itself will be but a poor approximation, leave the inscrutable purport of them an acknowledged secret." (CARLYLE.)

Notwithstanding, it is a fact that History is Philosophy teaching by example—has been in the past, is at the present, will be in the future, the most powerful factor in moulding the destinies of the human race. Biblical history, the life of Christ, the early history of Rome, all three more or less fabulous, yet each has helped in the development of man. Take such examples as the brave Horatius:—

"Still is the story told,
How well Horatius kept the bridge
In the brave days of old."

I would have hung up in every house as a reminder of what we owe our country:—

"And straight against that great array
Forth went the dauntless Three:
For Romans in Rome's quarrel
Spared neither land nor gold,
Nor son nor wife, nor limb nor life,
In the brave days of old

Then none was for a party,
Then all were for the State;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great.
Then lands were fairly portioned,
Then spoils were fairly sold:
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old."

The defence of the pass of Thermopylæ by Leonidas, King of Sparta, against the invading army of the Persians under Xerxes, is another example that will never die. It inculcates the moral to men for all time, that no true man or citizen will turn his back to any odds. Surrounded and attacked in front and rear, the Spartans and Thespians fell to a man, after making vast slaughter. The slain were buried where they fell, and their memory was honoured by monumental pillars. Two of the inscriptions run thus:—"Here four thousand men from Peloponnesus once fought three millions." "Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here, obeying their laws."

We have an example in modern times of this love of country, the ruling passion, strong in death. When Cavour, the great Italian statesman, lay in the very grasp of death, he interrupted the priests, busy at their work of intercession, almost roughly, with the exclamation, "Pray not for me! Pray for Italy!"

Who can estimate the value of the example set by Virginius to women of "Death before dishonour":—

"'The time is come. See how he points his eager hand this way!
See how his eyes gloat on thy grief, like a kite's upon the prey!
With all his wit, he little deems that, spurned, betrayed, bereft,
Thy father hath in his despair one fearful refuge left.
He little deems that in this hand I clutch what still can save
Thy gentle youth from taunts and blows, the portion of the slave:
Yea, and from nameless evil, that passeth taunt and blow—
Foul outrage which thou know'st not, which thou shalt never know.
Then clasp me round the neck once more, and give me one more kiss
And now, mine own dear little girl, there is no way but this.'
With that he lifted high the steel, and smote her in the side,
And in her blood she sank to earth, and with one sob she died."

Facts are not the dross of history, but the true metal, and the historian is a worker in that metal. He has nothing to do with abstract truth, or with practical politics, or with forecasts of the future. . . . The true historian, therefore, seeking to compose a true picture of the thing acted, must collect facts, select facts, and combine facts. Methods will differ, styles will differ. Nobody ever does anything exactly like anybody else; but the end in view is generally the same, and the historian's end is truthful narration. Maxims he will have, if he is wise, never a one; and as for a moral, if he tell his story well, it will need none—if he tell it ill, it will deserve none."—AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

"Excelsior" is the lesson history teaches us. The onward and upward progress of every nation may be traced to those of its people who worked with all their soul in their efforts to excel in their work. "History exhibits this thirst for perfection, this gradual moving upwards towards the attainment of it, as a chief note of the career of our race. Here, as in the rest of the universe, there is a never-ceasing process of evolution, a perpetual becoming. The plant, the animal, the man, the social order issuing from man—all display a progressive metamorphosis. In the physical world this striving after perfection seems to be blind, unintelligent: whether it is really so or not, I do not undertake to say. But in man it is certainly conscious: and the highest form of it is the religious sentiment, which is a feeling after the Infinite. Supreme truth alone can satisfy the intellect: supreme love alone can fill the heart: supreme righteousness alone can content the conscience. But when we say Supreme Truth, Supreme Love, Supreme Righteousness, we say God. It is under the influence of this transcendent ideal that the human soul reaches its amplest development, its highest elevation in the scale of being; and Jesus Christ has given us its noblest and simplest expression, 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect.' The first great lesson that history teaches us, from the collective experiences of our race, is that man lives under the law of progress which is the striving after perfection,

and of which the highest experience is the quest of the All-Perfect. *Fecisti nos ad Te*, says St. Augustine. And history justifies his saying.

"I would say that as St. Augustine has discerned, however dimly and imperfectly, this great fact of progress and the main lesson which it teaches, so he has rightly apprehended its condition—obedience to law, the innermost essence of things, which, in Hooker's fine phrase, is 'the very voice of God.' Man may obey or disobey this law—that is his awful and mysterious prerogative. But to follow it is the only condition of advance of freedom, according to the old saying, *Summa Deo servitus, summa libertas*. It is by obedience to the laws of human nature that man has ameliorated his social conditions. His ethical advance—the most important element of his progress—is due to his following the dictates of Eternal Righteousness. That civilisation is nothing else but the knowledge and observance of natural law is the stupidest of lies. Its elements are chiefly moral. Intellect is but its instrument. I know well that this truth has been for a season obscured by the school, or rather schools, of writers who set aside virtue, benevolence, love of God, of country, and hold out physical science as the sole factor of human progress. But it is true all the same: the first of truths: and I have no fear but that it will be so recognised when the brief hour of materialistic tyranny is overpast, for the world cannot live without it. I hold with Butler that 'the law of virtue written on our hearts, is the law we are born under,' and that in obedience to it is the condition of all well-being, as for individuals so for nations. Machiavelli was right when he said that the majestic fabric of the Roman Commonwealth was built up rather by virtue than by arms. He, too, was right who said of the First Napoleon at the height of his success:—'It is unjust: it cannot last.' What is called the force of circumstances is only another name for eternal law: for that adamantine chain of moral gravitation which we cannot formulate, but from which we can no more escape than from its counterpart in the physical world. As in the history of the individual, so in the history of nations, God is primarily

revealed under the attribute of Retributive Justice. The first fact about man is his concept of duty: 'Thou Oughtest: it is thy supreme good to follow that Categorical Imperative: thy supreme loss to disobey it.' And this is the first fact, too, about the aggregation of men which we call a people. In loyalty to truth, to right, to justice—all summed up in the old phrase of fearing God—is the highest law of collective human life, and it is fenced round with terrible penalties which are the natural sequence of its violation. The root of all greatness, national or individual, is a great thought: or a great action, which is merely a thought actualised. The ideal is the moral life of the world. But the highest of all ideas is the Divine. And it is precisely as that idea has lived in the minds of peoples that they have been truly great. Piety towards the gods was the very root of Roman greatness. No truer word was ever said than Horace's '*Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas:*' read Fustel de Coulange's chapter, 'Le Romain,' if you would know how true it is. Consider the mediæval period, rude in physical comfort and the mechanic arts, but how great in individualities, in men: think of its monuments which still remain to us: cathedrals such as those of Siena, Amiens, Canterbury: the pictures of Giotto, Orcagna, Fra Angelico: the song of Dante: the philosophy of Aquinas. All that was great in those ages sprang from their faith—from the Divine ideal on which they lived. . . . Before nations, as before individuals, are set life and death, blessing and cursing. Their well-being depends upon their choice:—

> 'Our acts our angels are, or good or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still.' . . . "

Men have yet to learn the lesson History teaches them, the inevitable punishment that will follow any infringement by the individual, or nation, of the moral law. If the motive be selfish or low, no matter how brilliant the intellect, there is no moral relish in the present, or reliance on the future. The work done is not permanent. Study the lives of Franklin and Washington, and compare them with Sheridan's and Napoleon's, what a contrast

in the ultimate result of their labours, owing to the different motives that influenced them.

The Government of England has not in the past been based upon a belief in the supremacy of the moral law. There is not a government in the world that is, yet Cowper has told them in a few very powerful verses how the Divine Government punished Spain for her treatment of the inhabitants when she conquered South America. We have also incurred a terrible retribution for our war with America, but more especially because the Government of that day, resisting every attempt at the reform of abuses, "to divert the national mind from causing a revolution at home, they embarked in a war abroad, and, for a period of twenty-three years let loose the propensities in France with headstrong fury and a fearful perseverance. France, no doubt, threatened the different nations of Europe with the most violent interference with their governments; a menace wholly unjustifiable, and one which called for resistance. But the rulers of that country were preparing their own destruction, in exact proportion to their departure from the moral law; and a statesman who knew and had confidence in the constitution of the world as now explained (National Calamities from infringement of the Moral Law) could have listened to the storm with perfect composure, prepared to repel actual aggression; and could have left the explosion of French infatuation to the Ruler of the universe, in unhesitating reliance on the efficacy of His laws."—GEORGE COMBE.

But our statesmen act as if they did not believe that a just God really governs the world. I can imagine the derisive smiles the above extract of George Combe's will cause, not only among Members of Parliament but others. Oppose an unscrupulous enemy by faith in God's laws, and being ready to defend yourself if attacked! No, the time has not come for such doctrines, we still prefer a war of retaliation or aggression. The time will come when governors and governed will recognise the supremacy of the moral law; therefore the mistake of seeking power and wealth, by conquering. devastating, or obstructing the prosperity of another; as, being in opposition to the moral constitution of creation,

it must occasion misery while in progress, and can lead to no result except the impoverishment and mortification of the people who pursue it.

Practically it comes to this: Is honesty the best policy? If it be so for individuals, and who dares deny it, then it must be for nations. For example, "It is narrated by Cicero that Themistocles told the Athenians that he had conceived a project which would be of the greatest advantage to Athens, but that the profoundest secrecy was necessary to ensure its success. They desired him to communicate it to Aristides, and promised, if he approved, to execute it. Themistocles took Aristides aside, and told him that he proposed, unawares, to burn the ships of the Spartans, then in profound peace with the Athenian State, and not expecting an attack; which would very much weaken the Spartan power. Aristides reported that nothing could be more *advantageous*, but nothing more *unjust*, than the project in view. The people refused to hear or to execute it." The conscience of Aristides saw the act would be morally wrong, but he failed to see that Athens would not have benefitted by such a dastardly act.

People are so apt to forget how similar human beings are to each other. Like other mortals, "The inhabitants of Sparta possessed the faculties of Self-Esteem. Combativensss, Destructiveness, Intellect, Benevolence, and Conscientiousness. The proposed destruction of their ships, in time of profound peace, would have outraged the higher sentiments and intellect, and these would have kindled Combativeness and Destructiveness into the most intense activity. The greater the injustice of the act, the fiercer would the flame of opposition, retaliation, and revenge have glowed; and not only so, but the more grossly and wantonly the moral sentiments were outraged by the act, the higher would have been the class of minds which would have instinctively burned with the desire of revenge. The Athenians, then, by the very constitution of nature, would have been assailed by this fearful storm of moral indignation and animal resentment, rendered doubly terrible by the most virtuous and intelligent being converted into the most determined of their opponents. Turning to their

own state again—only those individuals among themselves in whom intellect and moral sentiment were inferior to acquisitiveness and self-esteem, which give rise to selfishness and the lust of power, could have cordially approved of the deed. The virtuous would have turned from the contemplation of it with shame and sorrow; and thus both the character and number of the defenders would have been diminished in the very ratio of the atrocity of the crime, while the power of tho assailants, as we have seen, would, by that very circumstance, have been proportionately increased. It was impossible, therefore, that advantage to Athens could ultimately have resulted from such a flagrant act of iniquity; and the apparent opposition, in the judgment of Aristides, between the justice of the deed and the benefits to be expected from it, arose from his intellect not being sufficiently profound and comprehensive to grasp the whole springs which the enterprise would call into action, and to trace out the ultimate results. In point of fact, there would have been no opposition between the dictates of conscientiousness and those of an intellect that could accurately survey the whole causes and effects which the unjust enterprise would have set in motion—but quite the reverse; and the Athenians, in following the suggestions of the moral sentiment, actually adopted the most advantageous course which it was possible for them to pursue."—GEORGE COMBE.

Briefly, the above means that the late Lord John Russell was stating a philosophical truth when he said "That nothing which is morally wrong can be politically right." My advice to the people, is, to follow those statesmen who can not only grasp this great truth, of the supremacy of the moral law, but have the moral courage to act according to it.

"The proverb concerning the land of Israel, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge,' was true; and the Divine word which came by the prophet, 'I will judge every one according to his ways,' is true also. Unquestionably a nation's wrong-doing is visited on the third and fourth generation. What man, whose moral sense is not hopelessly blunt, can doubt the heavy penalty which has still

to be paid by England for her centuries of tyrannous oppression and senseless cruelty in Ireland? It is with collective as with single human life. The offspring of the just man reaps the reward, both in his physical and moral constitution, of his father's virtue: *fortes creantur fortibus.* Gout, consumption, scrofula, are among the penalties we pay for our ancestors' contempt of the laws of right living. Quinet has well remarked that adulterine children usually manifest in their lives the fraud and dishonour in which they are engendered: *Delicta majorum immeritus lues.* The parallelism between the individual and the corporate organism, which might be established in so many other ways, holds good in this also, that both are under the moral law. Progress, advance towards perfection, is the reward of obedience to it; degradation, retrogression in the scale of being, the penalty of resistance."—W. S. LILLY (*The Contemporary Review*, Aug., 1885).

The lesson history teaches us is, to put an ideal before man that will stimulate him "to excel" in what he has to do whilst in this world. The root of all greatness, as before stated, is in reality "a great thought actualized." "Universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is, at the bottom, the history of the great men who have worked here: all things which we see standing in this world are, properly, the outward material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of thoughts that dwelt in the great men sent into the world."—(CARLYLE.) In the histories of illustrious men we have proof of the above; in their varied spheres of action the object aimed at is the same, the striving after a greater perfection, a fuller and more accurate knowledge, a desire for the truth, to know all that it is possible to know, "to excel" in what they have to do, and by their example stimulate their fellow-men to strive to do better. Earnestness is a wonderful power, the influence of great men immense over their fellow-men. "What fact is more extraordinary, more miraculous in the true sense of the word, than this: that three short years of one human life, led, two thousand years ago, in an obscure corner of Asia, should have sent forth an influence which has

changed the face of the Western World, and which is still as strong as ever—as strong, or stronger. The personality of Jesus Christ, a poor unlettered peasant, whose dolorous career was cut short by a cruel and infamous death, is at this moment the most potent force in the world."—(W. S. LILLY.)

"With the exaltation of the crucified Saviour to the heavenly Son of God and Master of the world, the divine might of suffering and ministrant love was itself raised to the throne of the universe, in which hitherto only the right of the stronger, of physical or intellectual superiority, had been allowed to reign. Over against the cruel selfishness of peoples, the proud aristocraticisms of classes, the frivolous treatment of women, the brutal ill-usage of slaves, there stood forward in Christianity an ideal which looked away from all the outer advantage of birth or fortune, and valued man only according to the purity of his heart, according to his intrinsic lovableness, and his readiness for service or sacrifice. And precisely on this account it recognised, even in the lowest and most miserable, in the poor and sick, in the slave and the criminal, still the dignity of the man, of the child of God and brother of Christ, making of him an object of pitying and saving love. This was the new thing in Christianity, by which it transcended quite as much Gentile wisdom as Jewish righteousness: while they asked after the deeds or deserts, the possessions or knowledge of man, it found the essence of manhood in the heart, and discovered in the sanctuary of the purely human the divine element in man. This was the secret of its power, by which it has conquered and saved the world."—("Philosophy of Religion," Professor P. Fleiderer, Vol. I., pp. 216, 217.)

Amongst the earnest men of our time, the men with the courage of their convictions, few rank higher than the late W. E. Forster, of whom it is truly said upon the monument erected to his memory in St. Mary's Churchyard, Ambleside, that

"After he had served his own generation,
By the will of God he fell on sleep."

A life begun full of ardent and noble aspirations, devoted to hard

and continuous work for the good of his country, and the end came too soon of his honourable career, and at a time of political crisis, when upright and consistent men were sadly wanted. Mr. Forster's public life began in a period of the greatest commercial and political depression. 1844 to 1848 is a period to look back upon with horror. The Socialistic movement, with France as a centre, caused the French Revolution of 1848, and made the late German Emperor fly from his father's capital and take refuge at the residence of the Prussian Ambassador in London. In England, Socialism was represented by the Chartists, and the wilder brethren of the north of England, with their gangs of rioters and mass meetings on the moors for drilling with pikes. Bad seasons and the Irish famine got rid of the Corn Laws. But the inroads of the Irish into our manufacturing towns, at a time when machinery was steadily displacing hand-loom weaving, was a trying ordeal. Those who are fond of referring to the past, should compare the condition of the hand-loom weaver of 1846, working far into the night, with an ever lessening result in weekly earnings. Contrast his present way of working with that of the past, "when he had to bravely bear on his shoulder the burden of the warp, or unwind it by the roadside upon sticks stuck at intervals into holes in the rough dry stone wall, following the traditional routine of his weary life till he shall succumb to sickness and poverty, and fall at last out of the rank of workers into the great army of paupers. . . . . Pauperism had risen throughout the whole of England and Wales, till, during the winter quarter of 1847-8, the public returns showed a total of 1,700,000 persons receiving relief, out of a population of about 15,000,000,—one in ten!" (F. SEEBOHM.) It was at such a period that Mr. Forster came forward, and in October, 1848, delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, at Bradford, three lectures on "Pauperism and its proposed Remedies." By a singular coincidence he began, just after his first visit to Ireland, just after the state-trials that closed the Irish Rebellion of 1848, and he closed his career just after his return from Ireland, foiled in his efforts to restore peace to that unhappy country, by the indecision and

vacillating policy of Mr. Gladstone. In his lectures Mr. Forster examined the remedy proposed in 1848 as in 1888—"Communism," or, "equal distribution"—the substitution of "each for all and all for each," instead of the present plan of "each for himself." If human nature were perfect, such ideas might work, but then they would not be needful. Is it not wiser then to ask of man what he can give? The men are not yet created able to live up to the self-sacrificing ideas of Fourrier, St. Simon, Robert Owen, and others, who ask that the world's business be carried on upon the policy of "from each according to his strength—to each according to his need,"—a tempting theory to the philanthropist and the pauper, but an illusion and a snare to men with brains like the late W. E. Forster. God has so constructed man, that "inequality" is unmistakeably what He relies upon for man's progress; by its action we find in all ages it is to the *individual* that progress is due, and the great incentive with the majority, if not all, is the right of private property,—which means:— "The permission to each to gather and enjoy the fruits of his labour, to barter the results of his labour with others, to dispose of it during life, and will it at death." Who can deny but that this is right and just, and are indications of the wisdom of the Creator who designed it. God is wise, and knows the value of difficulties. At the beginning, now, and to the end, tares will grow up among the wheat and thistles flourish; if wise, we shall accept the world as it is and make the best of it, not attempt to play the part of Providence, and re-arrange things. God is just—therefore cannot be in favour of Socialism, which is unjust, as it would take away from the worker the reward of his labour and the inducement to work, in order that all men, whatever their deserts, shall share alike. The idea is a dream, an imposibility; with pauperism, as with the depression of trade, the only reliable remedy is to ascertain the cause and remove it. Trace the decay of a town and it will be found in the removal of an industry that had been its main source of support. Why has it been removed? Because the workers, ignoring the action of God's law of competition, obey the decision of their union,

and refuse to accept below a certain scale of wages. In any case, when a trades union insists on wages which a trade cannot pay, the particular trade must suffer, become unprosperous, and will decay, the action of the union driving the trade to some other district where labour is free from the interference and unwise restrictions of combinations of workmen. Combination to maintain prices is simply "protection as regards wages," and is as wrong in manufactures as in agriculture. Those who ask for it are subject to a period of mental blindness; men with a narrow mind and selfish views; men who refuse what is just, at the cost of future and much greater evil to themselves and others.

It must be plainly stated to men, that their claim to reward depends on their power to work, and not their wants; that the world expects from each man according to his capacity, and will reward each according to what he does. Labour has a right to be rewarded, but man has no rights except as the reward of his labour. But we want to work, but cannot get it, it will be said. Yet there is plenty of work. And I think it will be found that "the unemployed, willing to work," are only able to perform work that is not wanted. If so, the remedy is to train the rising generation in such a way that they are able to be more independent of any particular labour or locality; train them, in fact, practically, and to do the work that will be wanted of them. This is certain: the only method of getting wages is to produce *such articles* as are wanted, at such a price that they will be bought when made. No law made by the State or union can fix wages; all depends upon the demand for the article made. Men must be trained to trace effects to their cause, to have faith in the laws of God, that as they sow, so will they reap—whether they understand the cause or not, the penalty of disobedience is inevitable, the laws of God are unfailing in their action:—

> "Stern and imperious Nemesis,
> Daughter of Justice, most severe,
> Thou art the world's great arbitress,
> And Queen of causes reigning here,
> Whose swift-sure hand is ever near."

Pauperism is a terrible thing, too mournful a subject to allow of sophistry to conceal or disguise the truth. To live, men must not only be willing to work, but be competent to do the work that requires to be done. There is no other way to earn a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. The question is one we are all interested in. Mr. Forster, in 1848, agreed with Mill that the 1,700,000 paupers should be employed by the State in productive labour; history teaches us that such remedies are worse than the disease, and in 1888 we know that it is better to be idle than to employ capital in producing articles at a price that means a loss in realization, because the same articles can be produced elsewhere more economically. Besides, if the policy be adopted that the State is to employ all labourers wanting work, you are not taking away the "cause" of poverty, but aggravating and encouraging it. You will not get rid of pauperism by making the condition of a pauper more comfortable. The only way is to make the people more self-denying, more self-reliant. State employment does away with the necessity for either. Raise their self-respect; give them motives for prudence; raise their standard of living; increase their wants and desires, so that they would cease to rush into reckless early marriage and thriftless and improvident habits.

The future of our working classes, of most all working classes, depends upon the security of capital. The wage fund is not, as stated by Mill, a "fixed quantity." Show a profit for the employment of capital in any trade, and capital will flow in and set the wheels going without stint. But capital is timid, and men prefer their money being in the Funds, or lying idle at the bank, if labour is not to be depended upon. The produce of the labour itself replaces the capital with an increase thereto, if the production be legitimate. If "our appetites increase with what they feed upon," so also does our capital increase by being used; but it must be employed judiciously. If so, it will be found that the wage fund is elastic, and not fixed. But to pay wages, and to get back the capital with interest for its use, the articles must be such as will be bought when made. At every

economic crisis we hear of "over-production," warehouses glutted with goods; but although there are always manufacturers producing more goods than consumers can purchase of the particular goods they supply, at the same time there will be found other manufacturers fully employed, and not able to supply fast enough the goods in demand. The real limit to the amount of wages is the *demand for the produce* of any particular trade; this depends upon the *quantity of purchasers*, and not upon the capital that employs labour. Create a demand, the supply will follow. It is useless, madness to produce a supply of any article for which there is no demand. This is the fallacy of State employment of the "unemployed;" things are bad because supply exceeds demand, yet it is suggested by statesmen, as a remedy for the evil, that the State should step in and add to the supply, or take the place of the men in employment; and, of necessity, unless you *increase* the demand, deprive them of the work to do. The only remedy is, to find new markets for what we already produce, or develope new industries. For either, no interference of the State is necessary. We want "Capital, Skill, and Labour" to co-operate and work together; every effort made to stimulate *each individual* to strive after a higher and higher standard of comfort, and desire to earn more, and save some of the results of their labour. The desire of well-wishers of mankind should be, "that the future of the world be in a material sense better than the past." This is to be obtained by Free Trade—freedom of interference by the State; freedom to think; freedom to observe and follow out the *law of diminishing cost of production.* The object, a constantly increasing cheapness of food, clothing, furniture; briefly, all the necessaries of life.

"The general cheapness in our markets during this time of depression of trade, of all the great articles of human consumption is a fact which, instead of causing alarm, ought surely, within reasonable limits, to be taken as a proof, and a most effective one, that our civilisation is, materially at least, a success; that the devices of human intelligence and the increase of capital, and the increasing diffusion of wealth and division of labour, and the use

of machinery, and other resources of civilisation, have more than overcome the difficulties placed in our way by the law of diminishing return—a proof that growth of population, if accompanied with those other things which in the law we call civilisation, ought (till the limits of space on the planet are much more nearly reached than they are) to mean not only an ever-increasing total production of wealth for all, but an ever-increasing share in it for each. This seems, as we have said, to be the dominant law of economic evolution, and not the law of diminishing return." (F. SEEBOHM: *The Contemporary Review*, September, 1886.)

In 1848, when Mr. Forster advocated the employment of the 1,700,000 paupers in the growth of corn, and of Irish starving peasants on waste lands, there was a scarcity of trade: at the present time we could not grow enough corn for our population, and it pays us better to lessen the cost of production in our manufactures, than in competing with India and America in the growing of corn. "Mr. Forster lived to see the day when, without the State employment of paupers, their number was reduced by one-half. He lived to see the population of England steadily increase along with a steady rise in wages, and in the general standard of comfort." The policy is to improve our work-people, make them more attentive and intelligent over their work, tempt them by higher wages, if it will produce better, or more perfect, work. Not for employers to rely on reduced wages to meet competition, but in conjunction with their employés, striving by all possible expedients to lessen the cost of production. Mr. Seebohm mentions that Mr. Forster showed him at Bradford one of these expedients—"the combination of two looms or spinning jennies under the oversight of a single girl. And he pointed out, with emphasis, that the girl of perhaps eighteen, with her perfectly clean apron and work which any lady might do, was probably earning more wages than a hand-loom weaver and his whole family could pick up in 1848. How unlikely did it seem in 1848 that such a result would be obtained in a lifetime! By what process was it obtained? Not by stopping the increase of population. Not by State employment of paupers.

Not by thrusting back the inhabitants of the yards and alleys of our great towns upon the land. Not by shutting out foreign competition, not by any departure from the strictest regard to the laws of political economy. But by the operation of economic laws themselves, rewarding ingenuity, energy, and enterprise."

We must face the position we are in: it is folly to try to maintain our population by trusting to the produce we can get from our land, which cannot bear the competition of other lands: it is equally unwise and cruel to try to evade economic laws from mistaken philanthropic ideas, what we have to do is to understand them better, and to remove all artificial obstacles to their working. Mr. Forster did his part, he helped much to extend the suffrage, and succeeded in using the first Parliament elected on the extended suffrage to pass that measure of National Education which will ever be associated with his name. Many think the Education Act will ultimately conquer pauperism. I have never thought so. Education is useless, unless it supplies energy, forethought, thrift. The people must understand it is but a *means*, not the end, to attain which they must be prepared to struggle on step by step perseveringly and unflinchingly. Our progress has not been due to what are called educated men, as our training is too scholastic and unpractical, whilst the men of invention and enterprise, who have led the way, have often been unable to write their names.

Mr. Forster was right in trying to bring closer together the English-speaking people of the world. We have plenty of capital, can produce manufactures of all kinds *ad libitum*. There is plenty of room in our colonies, and we should educate the people to fit them for colonial life. In the colonies, and at home, stimulate the people to the desire for a higher standard of comfort, and a resolve, by the use of their intelligence, industry, and thrift, to obtain it. Every effort should be made to bring the colonies and the old country closer together, in friendly rivalry and good fellowship, each producing what they can excel best or cheapest in, and exchanging with the other. Men were not intended to be

vegetables, to be rooted to the soil of their birth. The stone must be kept rolling, the age needs alike of the individual and the State, the intelligent use of all the forces at command in production, and the avoidance of waste in management and distribution.

History is a record of man's errors, excusable before the time of Bacon, who, as Goethe says, "Drew a sponge over the table of human knowledge," and reformed the system of human knowledge, by substituting the observation of nature—or, logical induction—for scholastic subtleties and barren dialectics. But, unfortunately, men will not act upon reflection based upon observation, and have to suffer in consequence. During the last century we have made greater progress, because we have been more scientific in our method. Brindley carried his canal over the Irwell, and the country was rapidly provided with a system of inland water carriage. The expansion of our cotton and woollen industries was caused by the invention of the spinning jenny, the spinning machine, and the mule. The new canals and the progress of engineering furnished copious supplies of coal to every part of the country, and the genius of Watt gave us in the steam engine a source of almost unlimited mechanical power, which has been so valuable in our railways to the people, in developing production and cheapening distribution. If the locomotive has been useful, so has the application of steam to marine transport. The voyage to New York is now performed in six days. The opening of the Suez Canal has economised time and labour. Commerce has undergone a complete revolution during the last half century. Compare the penny post, telegraph, and telephone of to-day, with the facilities for the transmission of correspondence and news of half a century ago. The greater progress of the last century is due to science, the utilisation of steam to reduce the cost to us from abroad of raw material, and in the distribution of the finished products of our power looms and improved machinery. Our out-put of crude iron has increased in fifty years from one to eight millions of tons, owing no doubt to the great development of engineering, the extension

of railways, the substitution of iron for wood in shipbuilding; but this greater use of the metal is due to the great reduction in the cost, and improvement in the quality, caused by the efforts of our scientific men. Thanks to them, the condition of the mass of the people is very much better, and life easier for them, than it used to be. Half a century ago the condition of the mass of the people was most deplorable; the cry for bread compelled the cry for reform of our political abuses and social wrongs. But necessity compelled us to recognise "the great truth which had dawned upon the sagacious mind of Pitt, that political re-arrangements, however important in their place, cannot meet the requirements of a modern State. Redistribution of the existing stock of wealth was felt to be a wholly inadequate solution of the great problem, which could only be met by an advance all along the line to new victories over nature. Hence the key-note of the Victorian era is the development of scientific research, the concomitant growth of practical invention, and the expansion of industry which these have brought about."—*Times*, June 21, 1887.

History thoughtfully studied will prove that every period of a nation's growth has its standard in principle. The great value of History is the lesson it teaches us that the moral world has its laws, the action of which may be traced with the same certainty, and their results be relied upon with the same confidence, as the laws that regulate the physical world. To understand the art of government, men must glean from history the law of God in the government of nations as of individuals, the law of 'Cause and Effect,' and that, 'As we sow, so shall we reap.'

> "There needeth not the hell that bigots frame
> To punish those who err: earth in itself
> Contains at once the evil and the cure,
> And all-sufficing nature can chastise
> Those who transgress her law; she only knows
> How justly to proportion to the fault
> The punishment it merits." (SHELLEY.)

"In the moral world, as in the physical world, nothing is anomalous; nothing is unnatural; nothing is strange. All is order symmetry and law. There are opposites, but there are no contradictions. In the character of a nation, inconsistency is impossible.

Such, however, is still the backward condition of the human mind, and with so evil and jaundiced an eye do we approach the greatest problems, that not only common writers, but even men from whom better things might be hoped, are on this point involved in constant confusion, perplexing themselves and their readers by speaking of inconsistency as if it were a quality belonging to the subject which they investigate, instead of being, as it really is, a measure of their own ignorance. It is the business of the historian to remove this ignorance, by showing that the movements of nations are perfectly regular, and that, like all other movements, they are solely determined by their antecedents. If he cannot do this, he is no historian. He may be an annalist, or a biographer, or a chronicler; but higher than that he cannot rise, unless he is imbued with that spirit of science which teaches as an article of faith, the doctrine that certain events having already happened, certain other events corresponding to them will also happen."—*Eliot's Roman Liberty.*

For man's advancement in freedom and happiness, we want a more exact method to be adopted in the study of history, so as to insure an accurate knowledge of events as causes, that the inquirer may be able to solve with more clearness the great problem of man's capability and destiny? "To show that virtue is indissolubly connected with happiness, crime with misery, and industry with thrift and content? To show that the spirit of liberty is an eternal principle, and that nations are destined to be blessed by its unconquerable presence? To show that it is the nature of knowledge to disarm tyranny, and to dispel superstition? To show that life is but a warfare between the elements of good and evil, and that unlimited confidence in God is victory on the side of humanity? To show that nations ruled by wisdom must prosper, and that nations governed by a disregard to justice must fall? To show that kings and emperors are to become as nothing—the people everything? And that whatever we think or do should be in harmony with the great plan of Divine Providence, as to what we are, or are to be?" —"*History of Democracy*," by NAHUM CAPEN.

GOVERNMENT.

"The Arabs say, 'There is no better ruler than judgment, no safer guardian than justice, no stronger sword than right, no ally surer than truth.'

"The Ode says, 'As we cut axe-handles, we grasp one handle to hew another.' So the wise governor uses what is in man to reform men."

THERE has been a great many forms of government since the world began; the few have ever striven to rule the many, and have succeeded, but the struggle still goes on of the many to be free. It is a natural instinct to revolt against a despotic ruler; no man ought to have absolute power. Monarchy, where it did not degenerate into tyranny, was at its best but a government for the benefit of a single ruler—as aristocracy became oligarchy, a government for the exclusive benefit of the governing class, as we find by the privileges of landowners existing at the present day. The fear of democracy is mob rule —a reign of terror; when the majority, imperfectly acquainted with the facts and the arguments on which sound political judgments must be founded, and necessarily the most ignorant portion of the community, have the power to exercise, by their greater number, a tyranny over the more enlightened minority.

I want the people to be free, and to have as much political power as possible, but at present I would rather things remained as they are, than hand the governing power over to the mere majority. Aristotle advocated a mixed government, the union of aristocracy and democracy. Plato, in his laws, shadowed forth a tripartite government, which Cicero holds to have been realised in the Roman Constitution—a balance of the three powers, King, Lords, and Commons, which forms the basis of the English Constitution—a system that theoretically seems perfect, the one party acting as a check upon the other. I advocate government by a Constitutional monarch, with powers carefully but strictly defined; an Upper House, not hereditary, and composed of landowners or the wealthiest men, but men

of the highest culture and the best knowledge of the science of government, men of the highest intellectual and moral character, men noted for their patriotism, men so carefully selected, that to be elected to this Upper House should be the highest honour a man could aspire to; and a Lower House of the best men the kingdom possesses for sound practical common sense, men able and anxious to do the best for their countrymen, men not chosen as the representatives of this or that particular hobby, but able to take a broad and comprehensive view of what is best for the national welfare, and with the moral courage to strive for what is best for the collective good of the State. It will be no easy task, but this subject of government must be grappled with; our machinery is not adapted for the age, it wants remodelling. I respectfully suggest great caution before parting with such an old, well-tried, and most valuable servant as "The Constitutional Government of Great Britain." But it is useless denying the fact that the system is out of order, the time wasted in personalities, and that Session after Session passes with nothing done, and the members by their conduct are bringing the House of Commons into ridicule and contempt.

Any change in the method of government of a people, more especially the people of such a complicated nation as the Empire of Great Britain, requires the most serious consideration of the most thoughtful and practical men amongst us. But sincere and earnest attention, with the intention of doing the best for one's country, would soon enable a body of men selected for their aptitude in the art of government, and absence of selfishness, to put before the nation such suggestions as would remedy the defects of the present system, or put a better in its place.

The people must rise superior to prejudices, to the liking of old forms, ceremonies, and names. Let them call the Government by what name they like, so long as we get the utmost liberty possible, and laws made with the intention of giving justice, promptly and economically. Law brought within the reach of all, all useless forms and ceremonies abolished. The object of

Justice to see right done—ruled by equity, not legal precedents, or technicalities. The difficulty will be surmounted if we only want what is right, and wish to do what is right to others. Teach the people, in any dispute, "to put themselves in the other parties' place," and "Do to them as they would, similarly situated, that others would do to them." Government is simple enough, if men only desire what is right.

There are few men but speak as positively about the acts of their governors, as if there was no difficulty in governing a State; the writers of leading articles in the Press indicate unhesitatingly what should be done or not be done; all are equally positive that their remedy is the only one that will relieve, cure, or save the body politic from the ills it is heir to, from the errors of previous governors. Yet one and all speak as if government was merely a cleverness in dealing with events as they arise; they have not studied it as an art, to be learnt like mathematics; hence it is that such blunders are made. Men aspire to govern without having that special knowledge necessary to qualify them for the most difficult and the most important position that a man can occupy. We do not allow a doctor to attempt to cure our bodies unless he has proved himself, by an examination, to be duly qualified. But we do allow any one with a fluent tongue, a ready wit, and a liberal purse, to attempt to cure the body politic. Yet, of the two diseases, the latter requires that the practitioner has ascertained, and is capable of using, the most reliable knowledge attainable for the good health of the State.

How is this? Well, we are met on the threshold of this enquiry by this fact—that the so-called ruler is but the servant. "The people are the masters. They have only to express their wants at large and in the gross. We are the expert artists; we are the skilful workmen to shape their desires into perfect form, and to fit the utensil to the use. . . . . To follow, not to lead, the public inclination—to give a direction, a form, a technical dress, and a specific sanction to the general sense of the community, is the true end of legislation."—(BURKE.)

What a bit of satire upon our system—"To follow, not to lead"—because, theoretically, the people think "they have the right to govern!" The fatal effect of democracy is the pushing this to the extreme. But it is said, England is a free country; the British people have given proof of their fitness to govern. But, in the past, did the people really govern? No, only the selected portion of them. Property qualification may have its defects, but manhood suffrage, I fear, has more. Let the people have the right to elect, but to be wise enough not to interfere with their member if he cannot always act as they wish. No man of intellect will be a mere delegate, unless he has his own ends to serve. We want a system that will induce the best men fitted to govern to come forward and volunteer their services, not for the benefit of a borough or a county, not for this party or that, but for the nation. I thoroughly endorse the following, by Carlyle: "The finding of your able man, and getting him invested with the symbols of ability—with dignity, worship, royalty, or whatever we call it—so that he may actually have room to guide according to his faculty of doing it, is the business, well or ill accomplished, of all social procedure whatsoever in this world. Hustings speeches, parliamentary motions, Reform Bills, French Revolutions, all mean at heart this, or else nothing. Find in any country the ablest man that exists there; raise him to the supreme place and royally reverence him. You have a perfect government for that country; no ballot-box, parliamentary eloquence, voting, Constitution-building, or other machinery whatsoever can improve it a whit. It is the perfect state—an ideal country."

Comte, in his "Positive Polity," upholds the same view, that it is wrong for the people to lead, although he gives different reasons. "For the people to take a direct part in government, and to have the final decision of political measures, is a state of things which in modern society is only adapted to times of revolution. Positivism rejects the metaphysical doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. It refuses, as a rule, to submit the decisions of political questions and the choice of rulers to judges

who are obviously incompetent; and who, under the influence of Positivism, will, of their own free will, advocate rights which are subversive of order."

Let the people have every right to enquire, to suggest, encourage their intellects to study politics—the growth of societies—if there be laws that regulate government as other sciences—because, if so, it is our duty to understand and obey them; for, as Lotze remarks, "the neglect of experience avenges itself"—and this art of government is a most serious matter.

Do not be led by names however eminent, discard all authority but that of fact and reason. Never act without due observation and enquiry, or upon unexamined assumptions. To govern requires much knowledge and experience. 'The wise ruler is he whose feeling is rationalised by thought, and whose thoughts are not prompted by feeling.' The times we live in are beginning to be troubled, men walk the streets asking for work or bread; not content with this, they go to magistrates and ask them to lock them up. Processions go through the streets with banners asking for Fair Trade, dismissal of foreign labour, &c., an indication of an utter ignorance of the art of government—the cause of their misery, or how to remove it. Still there is the fact, and it would be unwise to undervalue it. The only safe policy is to strive to be as equitable as possible—if an abuse be pointed out, examine into it, and get rid of it; if there be anything unjust, remedy or remove it. For rulers we want practical men—not idealists—men like the late Mr. Grierson, who took the management of the Great Western Railway when their shares were at 47, and after twenty years of his direction they were at 135. Why? Because he was fitted to direct and organise. "It is a perplexing question why they (such men) are so little conspicuous in the bulk of the men who are called upon to govern the country. If the Great Western Railway had been managed on the principles which successive Ministries have applied to Ireland, the probabilities are that no trains would now be running; and, if the materials purchased for the construction and maintenance of the line had been obtained in the manner which Lord Wolseley has

lately described as having been customary in the War Office, all the profits of the undertaking would have been absorbed in making compensation to the wounded, and to the families of the slain. Can it be that the gifts which most commend themselves to large bodies of people, such as constituencies, are flashy rather than sterling; and that the best selections of men for practical work are those which are made by small bodies, acting under a sense of definite responsibility, and urged to carefulness by pecuniary interests in the goodness of their choice?" (*Times*, October 10, 1887.)

I know it is objected that the mass of mankind are not able to select the right men, but if it be understood by the electors that their duty is to select the most able men to carry on the government of the State, and not the men that offer to *represent their opinions upon this or that*, we should soon get the right men in the right places. But it is said assuming you select the ablest man, there is no certainty of his doing what is best for the nation, he may use his abilities to further his own interests. To those who think so, I refer the above comments of the *Times*. It is a fact, confirmed by the experience of centuries, that men of capacity and intelligence have always been available to manage successfully large commercial concerns, and there should be no more difficulty in selecting competent men to manage the affairs of the State.

"An English millionaire, who succeeded in giving a powerful impulse to a branch of home industry, was asked the other day what were, in his opinion, the real causes of his success? His answer was:—'I always sought out the right man for a given branch of the concern, and I left him full independence—maintaining, of course, for myself the general supervision.' 'Did you never fail to find such men?' was the next question. 'Never.' It is the secret of the success of large concerns, the securing of the most competent men for each part. And we shall never know the value of good government to a nation, until the same policy be adopted for the management of the State. We want at the head of each department the most able men the nation has—but

we must adopt a different method before we shall get them—the 'Talkers' get the places now, we shall get the right men when we appreciate at their real value the 'Thinkers' and 'Workers.'"

A nation is said to be like a large family, but a more correct simile is that of one of the leviathan commercial establishments with its different departments, each distinct in itself, each under the management of a responsible ruler, but all working together with the same object—the benefit of their employer In each department there is a method of government, and the managers have to decide daily many difficult problems, and the success of the whole concern depends on their fitness to decide rightly, and see that the details are properly attended to. So with a government, there are the different departments, each under a responsible manager, and the result to the nation is satisfactory or otherwise, according to the fitness of the manager, his capacity to direct, and aptitude to control those under him.

The Prime Minister should be a man of exceptional intellectual and moral power, above suspicion, and competent to direct, and of regulating the different departments, towards a certain end. With the warehouse the object is increased trade, to obtain a larger income. With the government, the object should be securing to the people protection of their lives and property from internal and foreign foes, leaving them free as possible to manage their own affairs, with tribunals that will promptly, economically, and equitably settle any disputes between A. and B., and raising the revenue to defray the expenses of government in the way that those who have the most to be protected—the rich—should pay accordingly, but always with the intention of being *just to all*, and that their is no waste or unnecessary expense, or, as it is said, "no more cats than are necessary to catch the mice" in any department. The work arranged as in a house of business, Government offices no longer a sinecure, but offices where each and every one must *earn his wages*. The Art of Government may be said to be the tact of *not* governing. Why, in the past, has England been better governed than other nations? Because she has been less governed than other nations. Why, in recent

times, have we got into such a muddle? Because of the interference by the State in everything. Study our Statute Book: there, as elsewhere, you will find one long series of legislative failures and Government mistakes. Study our own history, and read the lesson its chequered scroll teaches us. Truly, "The neglect of experience avenges itself." How rashly at all times we have undertaken costly wars, without sufficient reason or justifiable cause. "We fought France for a century to maintain the claims of the Plantagenets on the French Crown and territory. After many brilliant exploits, we lost both all that we claimed and all that we before had. We fought our American colonies avowedly to support our right of taxation. In the end we killed the goose, but we did not secure the golden egg. We fought against the French Republic, and in support of the dynastic claims of the Bourbon family. The French Republic survives, the House of Bourbon is politically dead. We made war with Russia to preserve the balance of power in the East. The Treaty of Paris is to-day not worth the paper it is written on." (MR. THOMAS MARSHALL.)

Reflect upon the enormous waste of life and the destruction of property in these few instances only, and read the lesson history teaches you, how those nations are punished who neglect the lessons of experience; but, spite of the awful responsibility that those who make war incur, men rush as madly into it as ever. Beware of the men who lead you into war. The national honor was not maintained by the wars Mr. Marshall has described, there was not sufficient cause to justify our entering into either. The Avenger's curse is the National Debt, that hangs like a millstone round our neck. "As we sow, so shall we reap."

Not only in our foreign policy, but in our home government, ought we to study the lessons taught by the failures of our forefathers, of any unnecessary interference. Mr. Marshall, in his address to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, on "The Cost of Government," said, "Look, again, at the numerous well-meant endeavours of Government to increase the national wealth and prosperity. Laws to regulate wages, laws to regulate prices,

laws to fix the interest of money, laws against exportation, laws against importation, laws as to the cultivation of land, as to the dress that was to be worn, as to the sports and amusements that were to be indulged in. One and all admitted failures. But, you will say, these things happened in the Middle Ages. Very well. Then take the legislation of the present reign—of this and the last generation, for which we and our fathers are responsible—the legislation of an enlightened and prosperous period. In the fifty years between 1837 and 1886 we have been passing Acts of Parliament at the average rate of 103 per annum—5173 Acts in fifty years. But we have been repealing these very Acts nearly as we have been making them. The Statutes of yesterday and to-day have not had time to be repealed. But take the twenty-five years between 1837 and 1863. Twenty-five years is not a long time for a wise and knowing Government to look forward to. In that quarter of a century, 2887 public general acts have been passed, and 2742 have already been wholly or partially repealed. Judging by results, and weighing successes against failures, it would seem that government, if an art at all, is an art scarcely more trustworthy than astrology. . . . In practice, no doubt, in free countries, government must in the long run be carried on in conformity with the national will. The chances of error being infinite, and the national will entirely without guidance, popular government is pretty sure to be mis-government. That cannot be helped. It is the price we pay for liberty. But I for one think that it is better that we should be free to go wrong than that we should be dragooned into going right by Carlyle's able man. The reconciliation of these two opposing conditions—government by reason, and the satisfaction of the popular wish—was the political problem of the past, and remains the great problem now. Plato sought this reconciliation in a moral order of society, in which each member was confined to the duty for which by nature and training he was most fit—some for government, others for defence, and others for the task of supplying the material needs of all. In the ideal State, as he conceived it, this distribution of duties was performed by the governing body.

Plato sought to prevent any jealousy of this body by a rigorous and continuous State discipline and education, commencing in infancy and lasting through life, the result of which would be, he thought, to produce a general acquiescence in the arrangement by which each man did his own business without interfering with the business of anyone else—a state of things termed by him justice. The society in which this condition is most completely realised, Plato promises to be the happiest. Comte sought this reconciliation in a consensus of the body politic, brought about, not by government, or any external agency, but by the operation of a strictly organic law—a harmony, or equilibrium of the various orders of the State, corresponding to that consensus, or equilibrium, of organs which constitutes what we call health. This corresponds to that Plato called 'Justice,' and under its influence Comte confidently predicts that the proletariat of the future will frankly recognise that, being unfitted for the task of government, their interest and their duty alike forbid them from attempting it. I state these opinions as I find them. I hope they may be true. But at present, and in England at any rate, we have not yet arrived at the normal state. The tendency seems to be rather towards a diffusion than towards a specialisation of political power, and there are few signs of a disposition either to recognise the difficulty of government, to impose limits on its activity, or to admit that anyone whatever is unfitted to exercise it. Perhaps one reason is that our public men—from whom, on the whole, the people get so much of their political training—approach politics rather from the literary than from the scientific point of view, and that they are not as a rule acquainted with the methods of the sciences which come nearest to politics—those of the life of individual organisms.

> 'There is a history in all men's lives
> Figuring the nature of the times deceased,
> The which observed, a man may prophesy
> With a near aim of the main chance of things.'

"We have not yet arrived at that point. We cannot prophesy—even with a near aim—of the main chance of things.

Government, in the large sense of the word, so far as it seeks to anticipate, to direct, and to foresee, is not an art. Statecraft is only guess-work. But the less ambitious task of administrative government is well within our power. There are certain comparatively simple things which are absolutely necessary to be done which we can do, if we like, and do them well. Those who will take the trouble to do them most thoroughly are the truest political artists, and weave, so far as it can be woven, 'The Great Web of Government.'

> 'For forms of government let fools contest:
> Whate'er is best administered is best.'"

Jefferson says, "The whole art of government consists in the act of being honest." This is true so far as the administration of a government is concerned,—but an honest official is not always a capable statesman, and we often find capacity without integrity. An honest man will not undertake to do what he does not understand. "Ask the first ten men you meet," says Mr. Butts, of New York, "if they respectively can manage a cotton factory, or a printing office, or an iron foundry, or even a steam engine, and it is probable that every one will answer 'No.' 'Why can't you, as I want a man to manage my factory? Why can't I? the questioned would respond in amazement. Why can't I manage your factory? Simply because I don't know the first thing about that sort of machinery.' Now! address the same ten men on the subject of politics; tell them you have a city to 'run'; and ask each one if he is competent to take the 'management' and see that none of the interests committed to his charge shall suffer; probably every man would answer 'Yes,' without a shadow of doubt. . . .

"Government is coeval with society. It is a necessity resulting from the nature and constitution of things. As a system, it is based upon knowledge, and as a power upon wisdom. It is successful when in harmony with the genius and condition of the people for whom it is designed,—and for the very obvious reason that it is adapted to their wants and power of appreciation. It fails, whenever it is made the instrument of injustice to the many to gratify the few, or whenever it ceases as a system to accomplish

for all what may be denominated the best good of any. It is not a creation by chance, or accident,—nor an impracticable theory that demands a good beyond the means which are possessed for accomplishing it. A thousand theories of government may be framed, and with high and pure motives of justice and philanthrophy,—but they are powerless and useless unless adapted to the capacities, circumstances and means of those they are designed to aid or control. If they demand too much,—they are defeated by ignorance, for the reason that their provisions are those of knowledge, which require knowledge for their execution. If they ask too little,—the knowledge of the few becomes selfish,—and the moral standard of the many is left exposed to outrage and is deprived of its legitimate sympathies. Hence, it may be inferred that a government permitted is practically a government by consent. Not personal or theoretical consent, but that consent acquired by usage, which is graduated to a high or a low standard accorded to those elements of power to be found in capacity and condition which vary as the mind is influenced or improved. Every step in progress adds a new power to society,—indeed, progress is but another word signifying the march of power in its varied forms of developement and application. . . . A government is characterized by the people, and the people are made subject to laws in harmony with their virtues and knowledge. A government is weak or strong, good or bad, according to the degree of knowledge with which it is administered,—and its most perfect form of success is to be found in democracy,—where the general welfare, and the consent of the people are made the basis of legislation. As true government is inherent in the constitution of things and has a common object, it follows that it must have a common origin, and that is to be found in the will of the people. This is denominated SELF-GOVERNMENT, which is practicable where a people are sufficiently intelligent to know their own wants, as well as the wants of others,—and the best means of providing for them. A common standard is erected upon a constitution, and by this all legislation is to be weighed and measured. In the constitution the ends and means are declared, and by general

consent these alone are deemed legitimate,—whether proposed by a king or a subject, by a republican president, or a citizen." (History of Democracy, NAHUM CAPEN.)

The great thing is to get rid of prejudice, and to examine fearlessly every method of government proposed, and adopt that which will be best for the national welfare. It is essential that our desire be for the "Truth," that we have the courage to face things, and not go round about the bush. Men use the words, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, as a rallying cry—but what do they mean by the three words? It is said that the people are sick of reforms, poverty and want still exist—aye, and will, spite of all that can be done by Act of Parliament. The tangled web of human politics will not unravel itself by the actions of those politicians who aim at levelling down to equality. All that governments can do is to give the nation value for the taxes they impose, see that all men are treated as equals before the law, and set an example of Justice.

It is claimed for Socialism that "Equity is its inspiration and its goal." "To each man the reward of his capacity, and of his capacity according to his work," seems just, but how are we to measure the relative values of different kinds of labour, mental and physical, except by the law of supply and demand? Every man has a right to an equivalent for his labour. True, but is he to say what the equivalent is to be, or is the buyer or exchanger to give as an equivalent what that labour is worth to him? The price must be fixed by the hirer or the hired, and no law ever made by man, or that can be made by man, will compel a man to pay for an article more than it is worth to him—*the purchaser*. It is useless kicking against the pricks. If a certain kind of labour is not wanted, the price must be according. Common sense says, instead of introducing a system that will give to their labour an artificial value, train your people so that if they cannot earn a living at one thing they may at another.

"It may seem, to those accustomed to the present system, an injustice that the clever doctor, advocate, artist, author, or composer, should be able to absorb no more of the good things of life

than the man of average ability. This is only one of the countless instances of custom perverting the mental, or rather moral, vision. The natural and unperverted moral sense would seem to declare for the very reverse, namely, that inasmuch as the gifted man is placed by nature on a higher level than the ordinary man, he should rather forego a portion of his own legitimate share. The utmost, however, that is contemplated by the Socialist, is his being placed on an equal economic footing with his naturally inferior brother. (BELFORT BAX.)

You will observe the admission—it is a very important one—that the more gifted "should rather forego a portion of his own *legitimate* share." If you can induce men that can earn forty shillings to give ten shillings to the men that can only earn twenty shillings, so as to put both on an equal economic footing, do so by all means, but I say *you cannot*, and *never will;* therefore maintain that *inequality* is God's law, and that is why no effort of man will reverse the existing state of things. Men will become less selfish, and be more liberal to those less gifted than themselves: this is in accordance with God's law and will, this men can hasten by appealing to the better part of man's nature. And they can, by careful training in early life, make the inefficient ones more efficient—all this is natural, healthy, commendable—but you cannot make men equal, or compel them to give their earnings to others less gifted than themselves. Who does not wish with Hyndman "that all shall be well fed, well housed, and well educated," or, with the Rev. J. Barnett, that "the full stature of manhood should be rendered possible to all?" But what use is there in shutting our eyes to the fact that this "full stature" is not to be attained by a mere change in the form of government. The only way is to gradually, steadily, and earnestly remove the causes that make some men smaller mentally and bodily than others. No opportunity should be lost of encouraging spontaneous co-operative efforts of every kind. Begin by instilling the desire to improve their mental condition, show them how A does so much better for his wife and family, with the same money, than B. Teach them to rely upon themselves, in their struggles

help them when you can, but keep active their self-respect. Don't lead them to expect impossibilities—the work onward and upward is slow, but sure, if they will but do their part and patiently wait.

"God's fruit of justice ripens slow,
Men's souls are narrow, let them grow;
My brother, we must wait."

"There is no harm in making a mistake, but great harm in making none. Show me a man who makes no mistakes, and I will show you a man who has done nothing."—LIEBIG.

I am not going to add to the many theories for the reconstruction of society, which is the most complex thing the human mind can grasp; yet there are men in nearly every age who think their plan, if adopted, would recreate the world. There are so many departments of society—its social elements, its political elements, its productive elements, and its distributive elements; but the two distinctive elements are "The Rich and the Poor," of whom, now as heretofore, Disraeli, in "Sybil," truly says, we have "Two nations, between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws." There is but one infallible theory, the "reconstruction of the individual." But if society cannot be formed by hard and fast lines, much can be done for the good of the people by their rulers understanding their work. And the very first thing to be done is to have such sanitary laws, and see they are observed, as will relieve society of the waste from sickness, weakness, and the early death of its members. If man is constructed so as to live for seventy years, if it be a sign of disobedience to the laws of health by society or the individual if a man dies before seventy, think of the fearful waste if the average duration of human life be thirty-five years! Society wastes half its human force. And we must remember that *one-third* of this time men

are helpless, *non-productive.* Another startling truth, too much overlooked, is the fact that society exists, can only exist, by the labours of its *productive* members. It has been said that "one half the people do not know how the other half live." It can, I think, be proved that one half the members of a society, or nation, are kept by the labours of the other half.

In a very clever article, "The Coming Anarchy," by Prince Kropotkin, *(The Nineteenth Century,* August, 1887,) an attempt is made to show that in "Communism is the only equitable solution as to the adequate remuneration of individual efforts; because now, under the existing interwoven state of industry, each branch supports all others. If the iron trade and the cotton industry of this country have reached so high a degree of development, they have done so owing to the parallel growth of thousands of other industries, great and small; to the extension of the railway system; to an increase of knowledge among both the skilled engineers and the mass of the workmen; to a certain training in organisation slowly developed among British producers; and, above all, to the world-trade which has itself grown up, thanks to works executed thousands of miles away. The Italians who died from cholera in digging the Suez Canal, or from "tunnel disease" in the St. Gothard Tunnel, have contributed as much towards the enrichment of this country as the British girl who is prematurely growing old in serving a machine at Manchester; and this girl as much as the engineer who made a labour-saving improvement in our machinery. How can we pretend to estimate the exact part of each of them in the riches accumulated around us?"

The reply is obvious. The value of the contribution must be according to the supply. If the navvies or the girls were as scarce as the engineers who can invent or improve our machinery, their value would have to be paid for like the engineers'. As the supply, however, is fully up to the demand, and there is no difficulty in replacing it or getting the quantity required, the estimation of its value, and the remuneration for it, will be less than that of the engineers. It is very well to tell us

that inventive genius, or the organising capacities of capitalists, would be valueless without the help of the workers; but, on the other hand, what would the workers do, without the skill and capital that find them profitable work to do? "British industry is the work of the British nation—nay, of Europe and India taken together—not of separate individuals." True, and to each is accorded according to the value of his help; you can only give the less skilled more by taking from the more skilled what his share is worth.

Prince Kropotkin says that anarchy—that is, "no government" —does not imply disorder. "There is plenty of order—we should say, of harmony—in many branches of human activity where the government, happily, does not interfere." True, but this order may be due to the fact that there is a government, without which, where there is now harmony there might be discord. He tells us that "the kind of order that reigned at Naples under the Bourbons surely was not preferable to some disorder started by Garibaldi; while the Protestants of this country will probably say that the good deal of disorder made by Luther was preferable, at any rate, to the order which reigned under the Pope. . . .

"By taking for our watchword anarchy, in its sense of no government, we intend to express a pronounced tendency of human society. In history we see that precisely these epochs, when small parts of humanity broke down the power of their rulers and reassumed their freedom, were epochs of the greatest progress, economical and intellectual. Be it the growth of the free cities, whose unrivalled monuments—free work of free associations of workers—still testify of the revival of mind and of the well-being of the citizen; be it the great movement which gave birth to the Reformation—these epochs witnessed the greatest progress when the individual recovered some part of his freedom. And if we carefully watch the present development of civilised nations, we cannot fail to discover in it a marked and ever-growing movement towards limiting more and more the sphere of action of government, so as to leave more and more

liberty to the initiative of the individual. After having tried all kinds of government, and endeavoured to solve the insoluble problem of having a government 'which might compel the individual to obedience, without escaping itself from obedience to collectivity,' humanity is trying now to free itself from the bonds of any government whatever, and to respond to its needs of organisation by the free understanding between individuals prosecuting the same common aims. Home Rule, even for the smallest territorial unit or group, becomes a growing need; free agreement is becoming a substitute for law, and free co-operation a substitute for governmental guardianship. One after the other those functions, which were considered as the functions of government during the last two centuries, are disputed; society moves better the less it is governed. And the more we study the advance made in this direction, as well as the inadequacy of governments to fulfil the expectations laid on them, the more we are bound to conclude that humanity, by steadily limiting the functions of government, is marching towards reducing them finally to *nil*; and we already foresee a state of society when the liberty of the individual will be limited by no laws, no bonds —by nothing else but his own social habits, and the necessity, which every one feels, of finding co-operation, support, and sympathy among his neighbours. . . . Modern progress is really towards the free aggregation of free individuals, so as to supplant government in all those functions which formerly were intrusted to it, and which it mostly performed so badly.

"As to parliamentary rule, and representative government altogether, they are rapidly falling into decay. The few philosophers who already have shown their defects have only timidly summed up the growing discontent. It is becoming evident that it is merely stupid to elect a few men, and to entrust them with the task of making laws on all possible subjects, of which subjects most of them are totally ignorant. It is becoming understood that majority rule is as defective as any other kind of rule; and humanity searches, and finds, new channels for resolving the pending questions. . . . Representative government has

accomplished its historical mission: it has given a blow to Court rule; and by its debates it has awakened public interest in public questions. But to see in it the government of the future Socialist society is to commit a great error. Each economical phase of life implies its own political phase; and it is impossible to touch the very basis of the present economical life—private property—without a corresponding change in the very basis of the political organisation. Life already shows in which direction the change will be made. Not in increasing the power of the State, but in resorting to free organisation and free federation in all those branches which are now considered as attributions of the State."

Why has it been so difficult to govern mankind? why is our Statute Book a record of men's failures? We have had at all times good, earnest men, anxious to do what is right, yet they have grievously erred in their estimate of what should be done for the good of those they governed. There has been two principal causes of this failure: Firstly, man's ignorance of man; secondly, want of faith in the "cause and effect" theory. Government is the highest of arts: "When one measures the whole circle of the social sciences, one is frightened at all that they require—study, talent, genius, and elevation of character." (SISMONDI.) Yet every man with a fluent tongue thinks himself fit to be a legislator, and it is believed by the most advanced sections of politicians that the most able men as governors are most likely to be secured by giving the right to elect indiscriminately to the masses—as if universal suffrage and good government were synonymous.

If government be the highest art, we require, as a means to the end, a system that will attract the men best fit to act as governors—men having faith in principles, and the moral courage to adhere to them—men competent to guide the people, and not led away by a popular current. We want philosophers, not orators—men anxious and desirous that all classes should have their due weight in the elections of the national representatives, but not forgetful of the value of *quality* as well as of quantity. Better leave the selection to an intelligent minority, than to a less intelligent majority. Mere numbers is not everything.

That the art of government is a very difficult one is proved by the fact—how few real statesmen each generation has developed. To excel as a statesman, you must have that rare faculty—the insight to perceive what your age requires, and how to secure it. Too many so-called statesmen are merely clever party managers, who may have a matchless talent as parliamentary tacticians, able to secure a victory for the measures they propose, but lacking entirely the insight to know the causes of the evils that want removing, or the foresight to foresee the future dangers from the remedies they propose. What caused the failure of our foreign and home policy by a man who had the confidence of the country and a majority in Parliament? The hesitancy and imbecility of action inevitable from an uncertain knowledge of the causes of the evil to be grappled with. What is the use of great powers, of exceptional cleverness, of unmatched oratorical powers, if, as Retz said of the Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis the Thirteenth:—"There was a wide distance, with him, between wishing and willing, between willing and resolving, between resolving and the choice of means, and the putting them in execution. But what was most wonderful of all, it frequently happened that *he came to a sudden stop, even in the midst of the putting into execution.*" This might have been written of the Gladstone policy in Egypt; and to this want of knowing what to do, and the lack of resolution to do it, is the cause of our difficulty in Ireland, obstruction in Parliament, street mobs and street riots. The Session of 1888 is beginning better, let us hope there will be something done to redeem our representative system from contempt. The conversion scheme will benefit the taxpayer. But the Looal Self-Government Measure is of great importance, and will be of great benefit if tho people are equal to this first step in self-government. Let us hope they will be equal to their new dnties and responsibilities.

England wants men with sufficient political acumen to see the fallacy of the old saying, "With what little wisdom the world is governed," and who believe that "without wisdom there can be no government." Much of our legislation is not govern-

ment, but proof that with "little wisdom the world is" NOT "governed." How can it be otherwise, when our leading statesmen proclaim the fatal creed, "That the majority must be obeyed." The majority in Ireland wants a thing; therefore Mr. Gladstone says, according to the cardinal principle of Liberalism, as proclaimed by Mr. Fox, we ought to give it them. This may do for the orator, the man who is soliciting applause, or for the party manager who is angling for votes, but no *statesman* would proclaiam such a doctrine; on the contrary, he, foreseeing the inevitable tyranny the minority would be subjected to by such a system, would limit and control the power of the majority and all his efforts would be to "protect" the weak from the strong; and also against themselves. It is often kinder to refuse than to give. "Men are driven to revolt by causes not clearly known to them; and in general the thing they call for is not the thing requisite to content them."

Still there are many serious grievances, and it is pitiful to see session after session pass away and nothing done. Grievances are referred to Committees; these sit for several sessions, make lengthy reports, but nothing is done. We want a body of men to manage our affairs, who, without haste yet without rest, will abolish all obselete laws, and incorporate into the Statute Book laws based upon the wisest teachings known to us. Politics must be regarded as a science. Politicians should be philosophers, and not merely debaters: men respected for their wisdom, not for their talking power. We want no new theories, but to incorporate into our national life the things our best men have taught us from their experience in the past; having got level with the age, we can go further afield, always ready to assimilate anything from any system that will improve our own. "Till, however, that time arrives, let us keep our well-matured views before the country, and try to get them carried into effect. There never yet was a democracy which took, and there never will be a democracy which will take, the right road, unless it is led by right-minded, highly-instructed leaders; and he is a traitor to the democracy, as well as to his own conscience, who, believ-

ing that anarchy is ruining the House of Commons, ruining Ireland, threatening Great Britain, and distracting her attention not only from her internal affairs, but from those defensive measures which are required to make this Empire and all parts thereof reasonably secure from attack, does not say so with as much energy as he can command." (MR. E. GRANT DUFF: *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1887.)

We want a body of men in the "Upper" House selected for their possession of the highest qualities adapted for legislation. The time has passed for hereditary legislators, for men whose only fitness for the highest posts is that they are the sons of peers. Let them keep their titles, but to sit in the "Upper" House they must be elected, because equal to the duties expected of them: the days of privilege are past, and hereditary rights must be abolished. The House of Lords should be looked up to for direction, not a body allowed to exist because it acquiesces in the national will, a body the public have ceased to attack because they reduce themselves to nullity when required. The "Upper" House should lead, not be driven—it should co-operate with the other Chamber in making the best laws possible for the kingdom, and direct and control the affairs of the Empire. There are some good men in the House of Lords, but the majority simply register their votes as bidden by their leader.

In the Lower House we want practical business men; workers, not talkers. The public cannot be too careful in selecting "platform orators." A man may be an excellent debater, able to talk upon any and every subject, but be utterly unfitted to do the work of the nation. To be worthy of representing us in Parliament, let the men wishing to be representatives show they have some special quality that will be of service in the management of the national affairs, more especially in the expenditure, which, locally and imperially, needs a most searching criticism, and the thorough supervision of every item. In selecting rulers, avoid the "aggressive" men. I am not for "peace at any price;" I believe it is cheapest and wisest to be prepared for war; but in our foreign policy we should be guided by the Spanish saying,

"Let him attack who wills; the strong man waits."

There is much remediable misery in our midst, the competition and struggle for existence not only in the lower, but in the middle classes is increasing. If wise, our rulers will voluntarily remove any injustice, people will not be patient for ever. There is quite a new spirit amongst the more prudent of the working class, and the middle class, owing to that relic of feudalism which gives the owner of the land, a man's house without compensating the man it is taken from. A stitch in time saves nine, the wisdom of the saying is proved by History, will our landowners have the wisdom to be just, to recognize that since 1832, their exceptional social and political position has been slipping away, and cannot any longer be bolstered up by a land system which cruelly injures the community, now that the majority of the electors are opposed to the landowners privileges. I do hope that that class, will, not from any feeling of fear, but solely from a sense of justice, do what is right, and cease to take what they have not paid for, or to charge increased rent for any improvement they *have not* made.

"Peaceful and law abiding as they are, therefore, they will not be patient for ever. . . . The period of social apathy is clearly at an end. Let us hope that a full and timely recognition of the just demands of the people, an endeavour to realize, in part at least, the ideal of national and international co-operation, now fixing the minds of the labouring classes throughout Europe, will enable England to take that lead in the peaceful re-organizing of society for which she is fitted by the state of her economical developement and the political freedom which, on the whole, her inhabitants enjoy." (H. M. HYNDMAN: *The Contemp. Rev. July* 1887.)

A nation is a combined system of public action, where the general good is paramount to special interests, and like other systems, is dependent upon its own peculiar means of self-protection and outward advancement. Home Rule means in principle the surrender of Parliamentary authority, no matter how curtailed, and cannot be allowed. But the time has come for Local Self-Government throughout

the United Kingdom. The whole divided into districts, and locally managed, the relation of each part however to the National Parliament to be the same as that of an American State to the Federal Government. There must be union and unity in the United Kingdom; we want what is called popular Government, that is, for the people to have a voice and to take action in the management, locally. In every parish or county there are plenty of men equal to do our local business, and their help would be useful to the State, in preparing details for men adapted for the higher legislation. Too much time is occupied now in discussing matters too trivial for the Senate, a great deal of the work might be done locally, and the local governing bodies could help in getting ready details to be submitted to the more mature and less biassed judgment of the national representatives —briefly, we want the Three estates, the local governing bodies, the representatives of the nation in Parliament, and the higher Senate, which should be composed of the best men, intellectually and morally, that the nation has.

The time has past for reliance upon traditions or privileges; respect for artificial rank may have been of service in the past; what we require now, is to cultivate rational respect for authority; and to honor our advisers and rulers according to their merit. The time has also past for 'parties,' we must be ruled by men who have views beyond that of mere partizans, men who think and act for the nation. Much depends upon the people, if they be in earnest, if they are patriotic, having broad national, and not biassed local selfish views and aims, they will then elect a body of men above corruption, men selected and known as the most rational and moral that the people can find to make laws for the national peace and progress in well-doing. Whether the system be republican or monarchial matters not, if the object be to secure the most intelligent and moral men as law-makers, men intelligent enough to know that nothing that is morally wrong can be socially right, and with the courage to stand by their convictions, men in office to do their best for the nation, and not merely seeking places to satisfy their own ambitious aims.

DEMOCRACY.

"It is as true as it is trite that political freedom is not the growth of a day—it is not a flower without a stalk, and it must gradually develop itself amidst the unfolding leaves of kindred institutions." (LORD LYTTON.)

Democracy. The name is enough to frighten many, why should it? Because man is the most difficult to govern, and badly governed the penalties are terrible. Yet in spite of the lessons of history there are men who think government is a simple matter, and who think that the talent, genius, and elevation of character required in those who aspire to rule, are to be obtained by giving every man the right to vote, and who ignore the fact, that the intelligent minority are liable to be swamped by the majority of less intelligent, and that the rulers selected will in consequence be such as lower themselves to the lower intelligence, instead of those who aspire to be chosen by the highest.

"The best of all animals, when governed by law and justice, is man; when without them, the most terrible." (ARISTOTLE.) History has proved his sagacity, ruled rightly, and by men of genius, of high culture and morality, men have seemed like gods in their capacity for suffering in the cause of right, or their achievement in the various arts—ruled wrongly, they have acted like fiends, and committed atrocities and reckless destruction, that has exhibited natures lower than wild animals. Read history carefully you will find men are much what their rulers have made them, if so, is it wise for us to give over the power of government to the greater number, because of the 'Virtues of Democracy.' Democrats are men, all men are fallible, democrats in power will be fallible. It is the men we must improve, before they can give us better and purer forms of government, whether we call it Monarchy or Democracy. To govern well we need men of exceptional power intellectually and morally, how to get these men as governors is the most essential thing, as we lower the franchise, we seem to get a lower class, read dispassionately and impartially

the scenes that occur every session now in the British House of Commons, and say if it has deteriorated or improved of late years. The fault of democracy is, its tendency to idol worship,—and the idol is the popular orator, the man whose aim is to flatter and make promises to the masses—if wise, the people would instinctively mistrust the politician who always praises them.

The object of government should be the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and there should be, in a free country, no laws in operation that restricts the sphere of action of men, or gives to one class of men any privilege that bears unjustly upon other men. Before the law, all men should be equal, the principal function of government, is to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, to remedy as far as legislative wisdom can, the inequalities of life. Absolute equality before the law is the birthright of every one born in a free country, socially so far as rights go, each man is on a level, and should be, as far is practicable for the general welfare, politically.

In civilised countries, the minority have greater interests at stake, and it would not be just that the minority should be crushed by mere numbers. For example, a Manufacturer or Merchant employs a large number of men, the employers stake in law, peace, and the progress of the nation, is infinitely greater than that of his men, and we are also justified in assuming that in the majority of cases, the intelligence of the employer is equal, if not superior to that of the majority of his men, yet by giving *every man* the same political power, the employer has practically no voice in the election of the national representatives, they are selected by the "majority," his men. To remove this, to protect the interests of employers, I suggest an upper house to be elected, but the voters for the members of this upper house to possess a certain social or intellectual qualification. Bnt it will be said, why make any distinction, it is a retrograde step, all men are naturally free and equal, and should be politically and socially. I reply that freedom, natural freedom is not possible after men have advanced a certain stage of society. It is only the savage who disowns all restraint, restraint upon liberty is the first act of civilisation, there can

be no progress unless the people willingly and intelligently acquiesce in such restrictions, all law means restraint, which *free* men will cheerfully undergo, just as freely as they would undergo suffering to get abolished any unwise restrictions that have been imposed by rulers ignorant of how to govern. Law means restraint, and to be lawless is to be free.

The masses are apt to confound license with liberty, too many forget that:—"It is with the power of human liberty as with the force of steam in a steam engine; it is only by being confined and regulated and controlled that it becomes anything more than an idle puff or an inorganic blast. We must say, therefore, that always supposing the existence of native social forces, not freedom but order is the grand distinctive principle of civil society. God made the world, by freedom certainly, in one sense, that is, by His own free will, but not less by restraint, by subjecting His own free thought to that law of self consistent energy, by which a chaos becomes a cosmos. Order is the grand regulating principle of all things. The stars are not free to move otherwise than in their appointed courses; the flowers divide themselves into fairly calculated sections, by laws than which no mathematics are more ingenious; even the storms and the winds have their laws, to which only the imperfection of our calculating machines, and the narrowness of our survey, give an appearance of instability. Let us say, therefore, in reply to those who argue that 'All men are naturally free,' that the whole universe is subjected to law, and perishes and falls into chaos the moment it attempts to live by mere freedom. In this respect the moral world, as we should anticipate, is the exact image of the physical. A congregation of the masses of people, blown up with the idea of liberty, can only produce confusion and anarchy, unless these masses are willing to submit themselves to the constraint of reason and law. History has shown this both on the large and the small scale, a thousand times. Unreined liberty leads to violence and passion; violence leads to strife and civil war; civil war ends in confusion and exhaustion; and the necessary conclusion is dissolution, destruction, and mutual extermination; unless the cure be sought,

where, after such a process, it has alone been found, in military despotism. The class of men therefore, who inflame the passions of the masses, by vague harangues about liberty, are to be accounted among the greatest enemies of the people, specially of the working man. . . . . Liberty is a wild horse, which can only be made serviceable to the commonwealth by being saddled and bridled by the great master, Order; it is a wine which, unless carefully used under the prescription of a wise physician, lifts a man for a moment into an imaginary heaven, only that it may plunge him into a real hell." (PROFESSOR BLACKIE.)

Democrats talk of equality, there is no such thing as equality, on the contrary, inequality is natures law, and the higher we advance in civilisation the more apparent becomes the difference in the capacities of men, natural and acquired. It is a fact that eminent talent, accurate knowledge, and high principle are rare; and in those societies where there is the greatest equality, there will be found less of the highest human excellence. It is a sound observation of Williams, the Polynesian Missionary, that "in the lowest stages of civilisation democracy prevails, all heads being of an equal height." I presume he means of the same development and capacity. This is certain that "we advance in moral and spiritual dignity just in proportion as we acquire the habit of acknowledging superiority, instead of assuming equality with our fellow men." The 'I am as good as you' theory is fatal to all popular improvement. The true friends of the people are those who tell them plainly their real worth in society, who teach them plainly their true position in the body politic, and advise them to willingly help and submit to be led by their natural superiors. Democracy excludes this healthy feeling of respect for what is superior, and instead of reverence for those more talented than himself, inflates a man with conceit, pretensions, and a false confidence in the possession of equal capacity if he had the same opportunity.

"The thorough democrat is the sworn enemy of all eminence; he hates to hear any man praised as in any way superior to the crowd; he banishes Aristides, because he is sick of hearing him

called the Just; his whole instinct and striving lead him to reduce everything to the dead level of his pet equality. He is thus in a state of open rebellion against the laws of nature and the institutions of God. For everywhere in nature, in every organic body, as well as in all societies, there is a high and a low, a controlling and a ministrant power, a dominant and a subordinate, a part formed to govern, and a part formed to obey." (PROFESSOR BLACKIE.)

Demos wants to reign, quantity regardless of quality is suggested as the best method of governing the nation. To govern is to direct, to direct, implies superior quality mentally and morally by the rulers. Is it not like looking for a needle in a bundle of hay, expecting to get this 'rough diamond' out of an indiscriminate heap. To govern mankind, we want the 'Best men' we have; men capable of reasoning and deliberating upon the most difficult subjects, capable of understanding what had best be done, and moral courage enough to do it. Before the masses can govern others, they must first learn to govern themselves. Their pet idea is to reduce the best men of their class to the level of the worst. This man can only earn 20/- a week, you can earn 40/-, we decree that you shall *not* earn 40/-, but be satisfied with 20/-, until such ideas are discarded, and the masses see the error of their ways, I say now what Ulysses said ages ago :—

" Ill fares the State where the many rule ! "

"Pure democracy is the absurdest of all forms of government, because in it the directing and restraining powers are one, which is impossible." (SIR JAMES MACINTOSH.) No doubt this is the weak point, until competent to exercise self control, self government, and to be guided by reason and the conscience, until in fact *all* men, are what only the very few are, it is useless to leave the direction of affairs in the hands of those who have to be *restrained* by those who direct,—how can the people govern whilst they require to be governed,—the reply is, by representative assemblies,—which whilst governing by the people, yet act as a breakwater to check human passion,—the people content to act

by their deputies,—but so far it does not seem as if by increasing the number of voters, we get a better class of representatives, we still want a method that will obtain for the services of the state, the best men the nation possesses, selected on account of their intellectual, reflective and moral worth, men of varied opinions, but all capable to deliberate calmly, and competent to act wisely and justly, upon the many difficult problems of public policy.

Practically we find that as we enlarge the area of the electorate we get in the House of Commons inferior representatives. Men less cool, less wise, less independent, delegates, not representatives, not leaders of the people, but led by the people, not studying to satisfy the wisest of the members, but to please and obtain the applause of the millions. Such men, however good their intentions, are the enemies of freedom and progress. Yet inevitably, the nearer we get to universal suffrage, the more members we must get of this class, and the fewer of those independent and thoughtful men, that the nation so much needs, but who would refuse to be the tool of faction, or gagged by the intolerance of popular prejudice or passions. What the State requires, is, to be governed not by the greatest number, by mere show of hands, but by a body of men capable of meeting together, and after arguing both sides of a question, decide to do that which is most in accord with the dictates of reason and justice. Try what system we may, the only permanent one for any progressive State is that indicated by Goethe, when he said that "men are Governed at bottom by three things,—by wisdom, by authority, and by appearance; and that no government which appeals finally to mere numbers can stand."

"The majority, in the most perilous and critical matters, as I read history, is pretty sure to be either wrong altogether, or wrong in the excess of what it passionately feels to be right. If no method can be devised by which the fatal decision of excited multitudes may be reversed, the doom of the commonwealth is sealed. Precisely when the storm rages loudest the pilot will be most wanted; but he will not be found. The mutinous crew in the hour of peace had cast the wise captain overboard, and in

the hour of imminent shipwreck nothing remains for them but to choose for their master the most energetic of the mutinous. This has been the experience of all democracies." (PROFESSOR BLACKIE.)

"Certainly the direction of a State is more difficult than that of a ship; nevertheless, if a ship on an unknown sea had on board with a thousand ignorant persons one skilful pilot, these ignorant persons would be mad if they did not give up the helm to him, or if they pretended to regulate his navigation by the majority of suffrages. It is not the pilot who has the right to direct the ship; it is the right of all those who are running a common risk, to profit by the skill of the most skilful for the safety of the lives and property of all. The object of association is, in fact, to bring forward the greatest talent and the greatest virtue, in order to employ them for the greatest good of all. In a time of great danger, of deep feeling, the instinct by which to discover greatness is not wanting to the masses, and genius often takes its true place without trouble. But it is rare that political questions inspire the people with the sentiment of danger and the necessity of confidence at the same time. Most frequently, if we asked each individual for his opinion, we should be far from obtaining in reply the expression of the national opinion. The ignorant populace, given up almost everywhere to retrograde prejudices, will refuse to favour its own progress. The more ignorant the people are, the more are they opposed to all kinds of developement; the more they are deprived of all enjoyment, and the more are they obstinately, angrily attached to their habits, as to the only possessions they have left; like horses, which in a fire it is impossible to force out of a stable in flames. Count the voices in Spain and Portugal, they will be for the maintenance of the Inquisition. Count them in Russia, they will be for the Despotism of the Czar. Count them everywhere, they will be for those laws, for those local customs which most require to be corrected, they will be for *prejudices;* it would seem that this word, appropriated to opinions adopted by vulgar minds without discussion, says enough; it suffices to teach us that the masses

hold to opinions ready made, that only the small number of thinkers rise above them to consider them anew." (SISMONDI.)

What else can we expect. How few men can rise above some prejudice or the other, how rare to meet with a ruler who has the moral courage to stand by principle, and resolute enough to push aside expediency, however tempting. We want such a man for the United Kingdom at the present time. Lord Salisbury speaking upon the 'Irish Land Bill,' is reported in the *Times*, Angust 12th, 1887, to have said, 'That when once the germ of an evil principle was introduced into legislation, it was impossible to get rid of it. Somehow or other the fabric of social order had to be maintained. Somehow or other an effort had to be made to adjudge each man his fair rights. If departure were made from the sound system on which these results were formerly obtained, and they entered upon an unsound one, it would be necessary to develope and push on that unsound principle in order to obtain the elementary objects for which all society existed. That could not be done with a structure once broken. They must persevere in the path on which they had unfortunately entered, and do their best to obtain the best and most expedient and just results that might be forthcoming. In 1881, he confessed, and in 1870 also, the then government had entered upon what, in his judgment, was the very unwise plan of trying to place upon the state the responsibility of insuring that the relations and contracts between landlord and tenant were in conformity with equity. They departed from the principle of free contract that existed, and made what was, in his judgment, the very great mistake of giving fixity of tenure. When they had once done that, it then became the responsibility of the State to see that these two persons, the landlord and tenant, should be on relations which were in themselves just toward each other. They had absolutely renounced the existence of free contract, and having renounced it they could not allow unjust and impossible relations to grow up."

I must express my surprise and indignation that an English Prime Minister should justify his sanctioning what he objects

to as unsound in principle, upon the 'dangerous fatalistic principle that when one false step has been taken, it is impossible to resist the pressure in the direction of the next and the next.' It is carrying into our home politics the dangerous policy of 'peace at any price,' it is a sign of weakness, a policy of compromise and expediency, yielding and yielding under pressure, against our convictions, that means ruin if persevered in.

Why has the Irish Land Act failed? Because it was an act based upon expediency, and opposed to political economy. It was an attempt by Government to fix the rent a man should pay for the use of land or house. It was the old *tinkering* legislation, instead of getting at the root and cause of the mischief, and removing it. We can make our own contracts, if there are statesmen wise and earnest enough to abolish that inequitable law, that system of legalised robbery, that relic of feudalism, which gives to the landowner the houseowners property, and to establish a court of appeal, to stop a landlord claiming at renewal of lease, increased rent for improvements made by the tenant, and not to have the power (without good cause), of refusing to renew a lease. This would be wise statesmanship, for the good of all, but to fix a rent, or to relieve a tenant unable to pay his rent, except by bankruptcy, is unsound doctrine, that a wise and firm ruler would refuse to develope, but soon as possible stop. We want politicians and rulers, who have the 'courage of their convictions,' and who will not shrink from the consequences of explaining and maintaining them, more especially the danger of deviating from a right principle, as once you depart therefrom, where can you stop, this was clearly explained by the Duke of Argyle in his speech upon the Irish Land Bill, August 11th, 1887, "He warned the House to remember in future 'that great general proposals involving interests of that kind,' (Act of 1881), were to be tested by their inevitable tendency, and not by a reference to the professed limitations which a Minister might impose. . . . . Almost all the limitations imposed by Mr. Gladstone, and on the faith of which that Act had been passed had now been swept away. . . . The

Minister might be perfectly sincere, and for his own part, he believed that Mr. Gladstone had been sincere in the limitations which he had placed in the Act of 1881, but the sincerity of the Minister had nothing to do with it. The personal interests of large bodies of voters had an inevitable tendency to extend themselves against all limitations which a Minister might impose." No doubt of it, it is impossible to limit the action, once you put aside the restraining principle, the only true policy is strict adherence to what is right, observance of principles, it is the first step that counts, once begin to go the wrong road, there is no knowing how far you will go, you have parted with that powerful protection—principle.

The importance of a steadfast adherence to what is right, the keeping on the straight road, never turning to the right or the left, is greater than ever, as there is no doubt but that the masses have the preponderating influence, and the future of this Empire rests with them. They have the power, time will shew what they will do with it. We must remember that so far the people show a preference for those who flatter them, it may be natural, but is none the less dangerous—with Democracy as with an Oligarchy, the same care will be necessary. "It is the most undisputed of all maxims in political science, that, whosoever is intrusted with political power is disposed to abuse it, and will certainly abuse it, unless a sharp-eyed precaution be kept constantly awake. The working classes in congregations assembled, merely because they can outvote the rest of the community by seven to three, have no immunity from the common frailties of human nature. If the Oligarchy of mediæval Venice perpetrated dark deeds at which humanity even now shudders, the democracy of Edinburgh or London will be prepared to do the same, when the real or imagined necessity arises. Nay more, there is a contagious power in a multitude which naturally leads to excesses, from which the wise caution of an Oligarchy would shrink. I believe all men have naturally a tyrannical seed in them, which passion, and ambition, and the exercise of power can at any time call forth into ripeness; but, political and ecclesiastical majorities

have been in the constant habit of cheering themselves on to deeds of injustice thinking that they were doing God service. "The best example of the tyrannous tendencies of all majorities is to be found in the democratic, or at least republican, constitution of the Scottish General Assembly. In that body, any independent thinker is sure to be overborne and ejected, though learning, philosphy, and piety may all plead loudly in his favour; whereas, within the pale of the aristocratic Church of England, every variety of opinion has hitherto found a generous and a considerate toleration." (PROFESSOR BLACKIE.)

Government is undoubtedly the most difficult of all practical sciences, requiring not only the study of mankind, and society, but a great deal of real experience from contact with both, more especially the influence of passion during a contested election, spite of the ballot, or election acts, the intrigue and corruption are such that must debar any man of high principle from the attempt. Much is expected from education, but mere knowledge will not supply a better class of electors, and at all times, and under every system, only the minority will possess the clear-headedness and wisdom to select, and the independence and moral courage to support the men best qualified to govern the nation. A general increase of mere school knowledge does not justify us in intrusting the selection of those men who have the control of public affairs to a majority, whieh is composed of the least thoughtful, the least instructed, and the least experienced part of the community. Think over the following by Sismondi:— "Others refer us to the progress of knowledge, and to the care that will be taken of the education of the people. We eagerly accept the augury; we hope that really free governments will find that their first duty is to give to all citizens, not the power of leading and governing others, but the power of conducting and governing themselves; that they will not relax their efforts to put knowledge within the reach of all, virtue within the reach of all; that they will fix their attention on increasing the comforts of the poor, on one side to keep them from temptation, on the other to give them more leisure, and more means of exercising their intel-

lectual faculties as well as their hands. But whatever may be their efforts, as long as there are rich and poor there will be men who cannot devote all their time to meditation and study; there will be others who can only give up to them some moments every day, and that with a body fatigued by manual labour, and a mind distracted by the cares of life.

"Would it be expedient to level all conditions, to divide equally all possessions, and afterwards to maintain the equality of these divisions? But supposing that this view of things were possible, it would not do away with the necessity of manual labour, which even then must fill the greatest part of the existence of all; it would only be to forbid a life of study and meditation to every one; the nation would only be so much the less elevated, where every one was forbidden to raise himself; and yet it would not be possible to level native talent. Even in a nation equal in wealth, universal suffrage would always leave virtue, talent and genius in the minority. Shall a more reasonable plan be followed? Shall the development and the progress of all be favoured without disturbing the differences of rank? Then every rank of intelligence will be more advanced than it is now, but the distance between them will be always the same. It cannot be, it never will be, that a majority can be composed of superior men."

It is folly, nay, it is criminal, to fight against nature, whose decree is "inequality," and therefore the best that human nature is capable of, the leaders of humanity, must be in the minority, and mankind will be deprived of this valuable help, if the efforts of these men are limited to the aims of the majority. Sismondi shews us plainly the path we ought to follow, not to aim at national suicide by levelling down, but to develop national progress to the utmost by levelling up. Let our system be such as will give freedom and scope for all to exercise their abilities to the utmost, each left free, and each feeling it his duty to the commonwealth to make the most of the talents entrusted to him, and in the effort to do the best for the country, doing the best for himself. Believe me all extremes are wrong, it is as true now as when stated by Aristotle, "that virtue consists in the mean be-

tween two extremes." If Oligarchy is the despotism of the few over the many, Democracy is the despotism of the many over the few. Both are equally bad for the people, as both represent a part and not the whole, as Democracy represents the larger number it may be thought to be the lesser evil of the two, but it lacks the restraining influence that the fear of the people always exercises upon unlimited monarchies or oligarchies, and when excited the masses will not listen to moderation. In government we want a safety valve, a drag as to a coach, a balance to stop the machine going over. Each party in politics or religion thinks itself right, there must be a power to step in between the contending parties, and protect the minority. This is the secret of good government, this just balance of power, all privileged to act, but no party, no matter how strong, with power to tyrannise over their weaker opponents. To secure this, train all in the love of freedom, the blessings of liberty, the hatred of tyranny in any form. A despot is nearly sure to be a tyrant. No matter whether it be a Czar, a King or President, or a Premier, let the system of government be such as to hand over the reins to one man, sooner or later a despotism is inevitable. There must be a head, and a body of men to introduce measures, with another body of men to discuss more calmly and broadly such measures before they become law. It is a similar idea to our old one, of Monarchy, Aristocracy, House of Commons. But the days have passed by for forms and symbols, we want as head of the Empire the man best qualified to govern the State; we want for the higher House, not a body of men with a right thereto owing to the accident of birth, but the wisest and best politicians the State has; and for the lower House, the men who practically understand the requirements of the time. Briefly, we want the State managed in the most efficient and economical manner possible; and the rule rigidly adhered to of—"Justice to all, privilege to none."

"Privilege" is the bane, the cause of all the evils; and ultimately causes the overthrow of the privileged class. Plato had the wisdom to see "that the mixed constitution of Sparta, in which, to an Athenian eye at least, the opposite elements of aris-

tocracy, monarchy and democracy seemed to balance each other, contained an element of safety which to the one-sided democratic organism of his own country was denied." "Your Kingship having of necessity become compressed and limited, has itself been saved, and has become a source of safety to the rest of the community."—(PLATO). "The political wisdom of Solon, which was afterwards overborne by democracy, consisted in establishing, or endeavouring to establish, in Athens, that just mixture of aristocratic and democratic forces, of which our present democratic agitators are so eager to rob the favoured inhabitants of this Island. Of a more utilitarian character than Plato, and dealing rather in hard facts than in high speculations, Aristotle, in his great political work, maintains strongly that the best constitution, at least the best which there is hope of realising, is a mixture of oligarchy and democracy; and he insists strongly, throughout the whole fourth book, on the safety of keeping political power in the hands of the middle classes, and not allowing it to get into the hands of the lowest. "The State is a mixture of oligarchy and democracy." By the demagogic measures of Clisthenes and Pericles, the Republic, however wisely constituted by Solon, declined into an abominable democracy, conducted not by the laws, but by the headstrong will of the people."—(SCHOEMANN.)

"But the most important witness from among the Greeks, in my opinion, is Polybius, who, having lived both among Greeks and Romans, had a longer period of political induction before him than even Aristotle, and whose authority in such matters is esteemed by the best political writers as second only to that of Thucydides. Like all Greeks he carried in his heart a harshly-graven outline of the hideousness of democracy, and had arrived at the conclusion which all sensible men now believe, that the best form of government is neither monarchy, nor aristocracy, nor democracy, but a composite form, embracing the virtues and neutralising the evils of all the three, and with profound insight he remarks that every social organism contains in its own essence the connate seeds of its own destruction, just as iron begets rust, and wood is subject to the dry rot, which there is no possi

bility of preventing, except by the inoculation of a counteracting principle from within. Among the Romans, Cicero, who had ample experience of aristocracy and democracy, and of that death struggle between them both which ended in the establishment of a military depotism, though he saw deeper into the flaws of the Roman political organism than the Greek historian, agrees with him in the general principle that a mixed government is the only safe one. He repeats the great and the terrible truth to which a certain infatuation makes impassioned democrats and despots equally deaf, that there is no simple and unmixed form of government: *quod non habeat iter ad finitimum quoddam malum præceps ac lubricum*, that is to say, the more unmixed any form of government is, the more patent and slippery does the road lie, down to the evil which ever loves to lodge next door to what is best. And to avoid this hasty descent from the pinnacle of triumph to the pit of perdition, the only safeguard is, instead of democracy, or any other simple form of government, *illud quod conflatum fuerit ex omnibus*. So much for the ancients. Among modern historians the argument on this point has been no less striking. The late Cornewall Lewis, whose learning was equal to his judgment, refers to Machiavel, Paruta, Blackstone, Buslamaqui, Paley, Zaccaria, Bellarmine, Filangieri, and Bentivoglio; and he might have referred to a witness even stronger, —the homage of admiration and envy which the British Constitution has commanded from all the peoples of modern Europe. "Such is the weight of authority in this matter. Let us now look at facts. First, and most famous of course, we have Athens. Here, if anywhere, democracy, it should seem, may congratulate itself on having achieved a splendid triumph. But the case is just the reverse. As compared with oriental slavery, indeed, such liberty was a great thing—the greatest thing, perhaps, next to Hebrew prophesy, in the ancient world; but as an experiment in constitution making, compared with the present constitution of Great Britain, or even with the old standard constitutions of Rome and Sparta, the democracy of Athens was a splendid failure. Liberty and unfettered individualism are necessary to

literature; creative genius acknowledges no fetters but those which it shapes for itself. In the enjoyment of this liberty, and with a fine physical and intellectual endowment from God, poetry, philosophy, and science, in ancient Athens, shot forth an efflorescence and fruitage of power, such as has been seldom equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. But this rich exhibition of intellectual force might have taken place under a limited monarchy as well as in the midst of a licentious democracy. as the names of Shakspeare and Bacon, Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Newton, loudly proclaims. The fall of Attic political liberty, in truth, dates, we may almost say, from the epoch of its greatest literary triumphs. The popular power evoked by the great struggle at Marathon and Salamis, as is wont to be the case with weak mortality in the hour of suceess, forthwith became rampant, and refused to acknowledge the last of those salutary checks which the aristocratic wisdom of the past had retained. The jurisdiction of the Court of the Areopagus was curtailed; and the prophetic spirit of the wise tragedian saw already in vision the brilliant dissolution of a State where cleverness without reverence, and impetuosity without restraint, could at any moment plunge the people into an ill-considered and perilous war :—

> "From Anarchy
> And slavish masterdom alike my ordinances
> Preserve my people. Cast not from your walls
> All high authority; for where no fear
> Awful remains, what mortal will be just!"
>
> (ÆSCHYLUS.)

"But the warning was vain. The cautious counsel of Pericles was forgotten; the dazzling blackguardism of Alcibiades prevailed; the expedition to Syracuse was undertaken; and in a few years Sparta trod on the neck of Athens, and the way was prepared for the golden keys and the iron hand of Philip of Macedon. The splendour of unfettered Athenian democracy conveys thus a less valuable lesson to political science than its brevity. Aristocratic Sparta prevailed, not in intellectual vivacity indeed, but in permanency of political influence. For her one hundred years of unfettered democracy Athens paid dearly with more than two

thousand years of political servitude. And now that by the glorious popular uprising of 1821, the Greek people have again won for themselves an acknowledged standing-room among the nations, they have risen only to make a series of governmental blunders, of which the inherent vice of democracy is perhaps the most powerful cause. They have, indeed, had sense enough to follow the example of Sparta rather than of Athens, in preferring to be governed by one hereditary king rather than by five hundred elected councillors; but they have failed to perceive the great truth that a hereditary monarchy can never actually prove an effective engine of good government, unless when supported by a strong aristocracy, as in England, or by a well-marshalled bureaucracy, as in Prussia. The long political history of Athens, therefore, from the unfortunate abolition of the kingship to the present time, is only a protracted lecture on the vanity of all attempts at self-government on the part of unchecked multitudes. In the good old plan of balancing one force by another, lies the great secret of political as of dynamical equilibrium. The history of Rome teaches exactly the same lesson. All the soundest social life of the Eternal City, as well as its proudest political triumphs, belong to the period when the aristocratic element was so strong as to justify Polybius in saying, that in power, though not in form, the constitution of Rome contained within itself that mixed balance of monarchic, aristocratic and democratic forces which he admired." —(PROFESSOR BLACKIE.)

In reply to Professor Blackie, the late Ernest Jones said:— "Come with me to Athens." The reform of Kleisthenes gave birth to Athenian democracy. Before then it cannot be said to have existed. Before then the four Ionic tribes, to which admission could be gained only by the phratiæ and gentles, ruled Athens as an aristocratic and monied oligarchy. Kleisthenes sought to destroy this power and give the vote even to resident aliens and emancipated slaves. How did your aristocracy and monied class now act? They, Athenian citizens,—they, guardians of the State,—called in the hereditary enemies of the country, the royalist armies of Sparta, betrayed Athens and all its strongholds

to the foe, and instituted a reign of terror in which Kleisthenes and seven hundred patriot families were banished out of that little community, but the people rose in their might after all seemed lost for ever, they rose and fought and conquered, the foul tyrants were displaced, the cruel invader was expelled, the exiles returned in triumph, the reforms of Kleisthenes were enacted and democracy reigned in Athens. Now mark what was its effect. Heroditus, the Greek historian, tells us: "The Athenians accordingly increased in power, and equality of right shows not in one instance only, but in every way, what an excellent thing it is; for the Athenians, when governed by tyrants, were superior in war to none of their neighbours, but when freed from tyrants became by far the first."

Grote, our own historian of Greece, says, alluding to that very passage of Heroditus: "Stronger expressions cannot be found to depict the improvement wrought in the Athenian people by their new democracy."

"Of course, this did not arise merely from the suspension of previous cruelties or better laws or better administration; these, indeed, were essential conditions, but the active transforming cause here was the principle and system of which such amendments formed the detail, the grand new idea of a sovereign people composed of free and equal citizens, or liberty and equality, to use words which so profoundly moved the French nation nearly a century ago, it was this comprehensive political idea which acted with electrical effect upon the Athenians, creating within them a host of sentiments, motives, sympathies and capacities to which they had before been strangers.

"Among the Athenian citizens, certainly it (democracy) produced a strength and unanimity of positive political sentiment such as has rarely been seen in the history of mankind, which excites our surprise and admiration all the more when we compare it with the apathy which had preceded.

"The democracy was the first creative cause of that astonishing, personal, and many-sided energy which marked the Athenian character for a century downwards from Kleisthenes; that the

same ultra-Hellenic activity did not long continue is referable to other causes which will be hereafter explained. Yes. Note the contrast: Democracy repelled the mighty armaments of Persia. Aristocracy had surrendered their country to the tyranny of Sparta!

"Under the democracy Athens rapidly rose to her greatest prosperity and power, and, to quote the words of history, no State has ever exhibited so much intellectual activity and so great a progress in art as displayed by Athens in the period which elapsed between the twenty years truce and the breaking out of the Peloponesian war."

The above lengthy extracts from the address of Professor Blackie on Democracy, at Edinburgh, in 1867, and reply by Ernest Jones, are well worth the most careful consideration of all men that take an interest in politics, or the government of their country. For fuller details buy the address and reply by the late Ernest Jones under the title "Democracy." Can be had for sixpence, published by Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

History is certainly in favour of mixed government, one force to balance the other. The Roman aristocracy caused the ruin of their country, as much as the Greek democracy did theirs, both seemed to have a grand future before them, both rushed to their ruin. Experience seems to favour the hereditary limited monarchy, with the right to depose the monarch abusing his power, or incapable of, or neglecting to fulfil the duties thereof. For the aristocracy of birth, we want an aristocracy of worth, an upper chamber composed of the most capable and upright men in the kingdom, elected on account of their fitness to fill the highest position in the State. For the lower Chamber, we want a body of men selected for their aptitude in checking all details of the national expenditure, men equal to a wise economy, able to give the nation the "maximum of efficiency." in every department for the "minimum of outlay." Men with a hatred of corruption, men that would expose and punish the man who robbed the nation without mercy. This lower Chamber should be composed of practical men, able enough to introduce new measures calcu-

lated to benefit the kingdom, remove all abuses, and remedy or improve all existing machinery. The nation in fact, managed like any of our colossal establishments, divided into departments, the head of each responsible for the conduct thereof being satisfactory, or if found incapable, replaced by a manager more competent. Local affairs to be managed by overseers, guardians, &c., as now, but under the control of a council composed of the most capable men in the parish; the object being, that the parish may decide its own local affairs, without having to get the consent of Parliament, which is only to be appealed to when the parishioners cannot settle any matters to their own satisfaction.

The great object of government is to move the people to energy, give freedom and scope for each individual to use his talents, see that the road is clear to all, all impediments and artificial restrictions removed, "a fair field and no favour." The school training such as will develop the intellectual and artistic talents of the people, the object being to get out of each individual all he is capable of yielding for the national good; a system that leaves the individual free to do the best he can for himself, but all trained in so doing, to be doing the best for others at the same time. But above all, to inoculate every one with an intense horror and hatred of corruption. Liberty is never safe when a people are corrupt. The *good man* is better than the clever man. We have to beware of *sharpness*, of a legal morality. I heard the Chairman of the Town Holdings Committee say to a witness; who claimed a house as his because he had bought and paid for it, "You say it is your house; how can it be yours? it is not legally yours." We must have men taught "morality," not legality. This legal subtlety has debauched the morality of the people. We have got to admire men for their wealth, forgetting to inquire how the wealth has been acquired. "Let none admire that riches grow in hell." (MILTON.) I am no hater of dross. I want men to be better off, but rather "honest poverty" than the wealth of Crœsus gained by a "smartness" which means generally the trained intellect of a thief who keeps within the law. All's fair in love, war, politics, trade, people say, don't believe such persons, they deceive you;

an "unfair act" can never be fair, if against morality it is wrong. Morality is simple enough, the law is now as at the beginning, and as it will be to the end. When in any doubt, as to what is right, "put yourself in the other person's place," and "do to him, as similarly situated, you would he should do to you." If all human laws originated from the desire to observe this law, if lawyers were trained to act up to such precepts, if judges ruled and decided, governed by this law for human guidance, instead of whether the act be an infringement of some law made by man, what a different world this would be.

What do you mean by democracy is a pertinent question for any one to ask? Why call us democrats because we ask for a reform in the method of government? It is as unreasonable as to call a man an atheist, because he objects to the established orthodox theology. There is much truth in the comparison, cease to follow blindly the Conservative, you are called a Liberal; cease to follow blindly the Liberal party, you are called a Radical; if a Radical, you are soon classed with the Democrats. What I understand by Democracy is that it means the principle of determining public questions, the election of the representatives that make the law, the government of the country, in fact, upon the principle of 'Numbers,' 'the vote of the majority.' 'This is the soul of the democratic despotism, the rule of unreason,' and in place of which I suggest keeping to our present principle of a 'mixed constitution,' properly 'balanced'—our principle is correct, but the machinery wants rearrangement; we must substitute 'worth' for 'birth' in the selection of our rulers, 'Land' has ceased to be the predominant power, as a nation our very existence depends upon the development of our manufactures and commerce. Landowners have privileges that interfere with and check commercial enterprise, their exactions hang like a mill-stone round the neck of our mining, manufacturing and commercial enterprises. To stop the people asking for too much, the best way is to give them all they ought to have. The men who cause revolutions, are men who want to keep their privileges, after the nation has decided it is unjust for them to

have them, once let a people, more especially a free people, think they are being wronged, the combustion will begin, the fire may smoulder for a time, but it will burn and extinguish the cause of it, unless put out in time. Force may check it, but cannot destroy it, if the people have a just cause for complaint.

The late Mr. Ernest Jones, in his reply to Professor Blackie, said: "Democracy means not the rule of a class, but of a nation—it embraces all, it tempers one class with another—it does not exclude the peer or the prince; on the contrary, it embraces them, it harmonises them—a peerage may flourish in its midst, and a throne is but the representative of one of its highest and noblest forms. There may be democracy under a King as well as under a President; and that system of checks and counter-checks, that tempering influence to which allusion has been made, is perhaps more perfectly realised under a democracy than under any other form." Carry it out, and I will join the democrats; at present democracy seems to me to mean the *rule* of a *class;* the sentiment of tempering or blending one class with the other reads nicely, but is it practicable, except upon the 'levelling down' principle? Kings and peers might exist under a democracy, but what is the value of a King or a Peer, content to hold office, but mere puppets. What has the increase of the 'popular force' done as yet,—made members afraid to speak the truth, support measures they don't approve, restricted the independence of the members of Parliament who are little better than delegates, not directing the nation but being led by it; we want the opposite effect, a system that will attract to the national councils men of thought and reason, men who act from motive and not from impulse, capable and practical men, men with sufficient moral courage that if they thought any demand wrong would resist it to the utmost of their power, let the consequences be what they might. I fear democracy will not supply the nation with such advisers at present. I do not object to democracy because it has failed hitherto, but because it seems based upon unsound principles. Experience is valuable in judging of democracy as of other things, the past is of value to us as a guide how to act in the

present for now and the future. The inherent weakness of any democratic system is its relying upon quantity *versus* quality, the rule of mere numbers. A nation ruled by men who have not yet learned how to rule themselves, men to whom liberty means license and not the reverence for law without which there can be no order, or that respect for the rights of others without which there can be no progress. Nations, no doubt, like individuals, will grow, have grown, and, therefore, because democratic institutions have failed when nations were in their infancy, is no reason why the same political system should fail when the nation has reached its maturity; but if it be unwise to let a child run before it is well able to walk, or give the power to act to immature youth when the discretion of mature age is required, it is equally unwise to give the power of government over to the people before the majority are competent to use it for the general good, and in my opinion the people are not yet equal to the position. Modern Britain is, no doubt, in advance of Ancient Greece and Italy, and the British used to free institutions for centuries would not abuse their power as did the French after centuries of oppression, horrible to contemplate. Still, if wise we shall not hasten the rule of Demos, but rather check its growth and make sure of its success when the time comes that England may still be the guiding star to all nations for liberty and true equality before the law.

The aim of all government should be the benefit of the many, before the law all men should be equal, whilst in the selection of our governors merit, that is, the greatest fitness and capacity for the post should be the reason for the selection of A to B. The ruling power should not be in the hands of a class, as history teaches us that the interest of the class would be too strong for human nature to resist, it matters not whether the class be aristocratic or plebeian, landed or commercial, the laws passed will be in favour of the rulers, who soon begin to think themselves a superior people. This feeling reached its height in ancient Rome, where a haughty oligarchy passed a law declaring it pollution for the high-born to intermarry with the honest plebeian

class. The same feeling still exists socially, but the political power has been and is being gradually transferred from the aristocrat to the democrat.

Macaulay gives us a picture of how the people were treated in Rome: "The plebeians were excluded from the higher magistracies, they were excluded from all share in the public lands, and they were ground down to the dust by partial and barbarous legislation touching pecuniary contracts. The ruling class in Rome was a *moneyed class*, and it made and administered the laws with a view solely to its own interests. The great men held a large portion of the community in dependence by means of advances at enormous usury. The law of debt, framed by creditors and for the protection of creditors, was the most horrible that has ever been known among men. The liberty, and even the life, of the insolvent were at the mercy of the patrician money-lender. Children often became slaves in consequence of the misfortunes of their parents. The debtor was imprisoned, not in a public gaol under the care of impartial public functionaries, but in a private workhouse belonging to the creditor. Frightful stories were told respecting these dungeons. It is said that torture and brutal violations were common, that tight stocks, heavy chains, scanty measure of food were used to punish wretches guilty of nothing but poverty, and that brave soldiers whose breasts were covered with honourable scars were often marked still more deeply on the backs by the scourges of high-born usurers."

Truly an awful picture of man's inhumanity to man. Such treatment would not be allowed now, but we still suffer under that most cruel wrong the monopoly of the land and the fancied rights attaching to the holding of land whilst all the duties that were attached have been subtly transferred to the land hirer. It is most extraordinary how patiently the people bear injustice, the appropriation by the land-owner of the householder's property at the expiration of the lease, the claiming increased rent at renewal of a lease for improvements to the letting value of a house, the improvement having been made with the tenant's money, and, above all, the law sanctioning and enforcing by its

aid, claims for dilapidation to houses that are to be pulled down are not only borne but positively justified by many that suffer therefrom; yet, the system in its operation imposes a heavy fine upon every occupying tenant and ruins many who have invested their money in building and buying houses, and as their terminable annuities expire makes paupers of many in their old age or deprives their widows and children of their means of support.

History is one long record of how long people will bear injustice before they will rise against their oppressors. Take France, and when you speak of all the excesses of the revolution think of the condition of the people before and after. "If you would test French Democracy do not look alone to its excesses; ask:—*What did it find France?* Answer:—*What has it made of it?* It found France trodden down beneath a feudal aristocracy which not only robbed the working man of every right but even by law violated the inmost sanctities of home." (Read "La Sorcière," by Michelet. It seems almost incredible that such atrocities were permissible in a civilized country, not one hundred years ago.) "It found the revenues in the hands of financial farmers who ruined every trade, destroyed every industry, and made the country helplessly, hopelessly, irretrievably bankrupt. Rapine and usury reigned from end to end, and famine stalked over all the confines of the land. Bigotry and ignorance upheld immorality and vice, and terror alone kept in subjection the festering mass of misery to which the people had been reduced. Then the genius of Democracy took this poor benighted country by the hand and led it from the valley of the shadow of death to the upper lights of liberty and life. True, by the paths of terror,—true, the guillotine smote as sharply as the sword of battle,—true, fantastic and horrible excesses were committed, like the enthronement of the goddess of Reason.

"No doubt the recoil was terrible, but so had been the repression. The one was the offspring of the other. Put the seven centuries of atheism in practice against the few weeks of atheism in theory, put the dungeons of the Bastile against the

scaffold of the Place de Gréve and record this difference between them : that in those dungeons seven centuries heard your victims groan, while seven months cleared off the anger of the people. And add to it this, that our victims were plotting with the foreigner against the State; yours were murdered for private cruelty, and greed, and lust. Instead of tracing thence a reason for not granting their rights to the people, see what comes of keeping them back, and be wise in time. But if you would test Democracy look to the *results*. What did it make of France? It found the land held by a few nobles, and the people starving; it turned it into six million freehold farms, and gave plenty to the people."—(ERNEST JONES.)

The above is the note of warning to England. If by depression of trade our people are deprived of the comforts they have become accustomed to, and our middle class, owing to high rent and taxes, cannot make the two ends meet, then, landowners, beware! I disagree with and have written in opposition to Mr. George. I don't think it wise to enquire into the rights of the nobility to the land, or to take it from them because they have no moral right thereto. But I do think that the Legislature should act as if cognizant of their having no title, that is to say, they possess what they have not paid for, and have long since failed to do for the nation, directly or indirectly those duties which alone gives them the right to it; therefore, if not taken from them the law should see that they perform their part of the contract, and refuse to give them one fraction more than their equitable rights, abolishing at once the old feudal right as landowners to the buildings put thereon, unless they pay for them, refusing any longer to help these men to oppress and rob their fellowmen,—acting as regards the right of the landowner under the conviction of which no impartial person can have a doubt, that the land is the gift of God Almighty, by means of which, properly cultivated, the people might get food to live by. Instead of which by our system land is treated as if the aristocracy had a right to it for ever, and they enforce their rights as monopolists to a price for its use, that is practically a tax upon the labour of the people. The danger

will be serious when the people realise that our land laws practically means, the old serfdom in modern form, and the result would be terrible to contemplate, as when once a people are roused to resist an injustice, there is no telling to what excesses they may have recourse, and to a manufacturing and commercial country like England, riot, tumult, disorder, means ruin. The present system makes land dear, as the Corn Laws to keep up the price of land, made bread dear. By earnest persistent efforts, our forefathers without bloodshed got rid of the one tax, it is now for us to abolish the other. We have greater power than they had, and can effect the removal of an injustice of this kind by voting for the right men without bloodshed or disorder. It is much wiser to effect reforms by the exercise of constitutional rights. For the national welfare we want peace and order, liberty not license, organisations and systematic persistent efforts, to take away any injustice, and abolish any class privilege.

Law and equity must be synonymous terms; we must abolish all legal subtleties and technicalities, the law must be plain and understandable, the essence of common sense and integrity, let the legislature and the law strive to carry out in practice the only true policy of doing to others as they would be done by, and we need fear no revolution, but must steadily advance under the rule of the most enlightened intellects, guided by conscience.

Mr. Ernest Jones naturally points to America, "the country where education stands higher than in any other country in the world." It is a proud boast, and I have great faith in the American people, they are thorough and earnest about what they undertake, and if wise, our people will imitate them if they wish to maintain or increase their material prosperity. The secret of this success will be found in a greater activity of the mental power, the people have a more practical education, are trained to understand the present while so much of our time is lost in teaching the past. America has done wonders in the hundred years of her independence. She has had some splendid characters to guide her—men like William Penn, who stand forth as beacons for all time in

teaching the truth of honesty of purpose, the value of principle over expediency. To the diplomatic mind what a farce seemed that solemn council with the Indians that Penn held soon after his arrival, sealing mutual faith and securing life-long friendship for the infant colony. When we think of the trickery and deceit generally practiced by nearly all nations it is refreshing and it is encouraging to read :—"This treaty, embalmed in history and on canvas, was probably made in November, 1682, under the 'treaty elm' at Shackamaxon, which was blown down in 1810. This tree was kept sacred by the early inhabitants, and the spot where it stood, now covered in by iron mills and shipyards, is marked by a neglected and decaying monument bearing the significant inscription, 'Treaty ground of William Penn and the Indian nation, 1682.—Unbroken Faith.'" Thus began Penn's city of brotherly love, based on a compact which in, the words of Voltaire, was "never sworn to, and never broken."

Democracy will be safe when the people select men like William Penn. He had the rare sagacity to adhere as a rule to what he believed to be just and had implicit faith in doing what was right. Expediency made no part of his theory in politics, or religion. In his dedication of the memoirs of the life of William Penn to Lord Holland, Thomas Clarkson denominates him :—"The first statesman who, banishing political expediency, founded his public conduct solely on the principles of justice, by which he furnished a mode of government capable of producing to his own people a superior degree of morality and happiness, &c." ("History of Democracy," CAPEN.)

It is marvellous how few rulers the world has had like Penn; how few recognise that "Truth and conscience are not in the laws of countries; they are not one thing at Rome and another at Athens; they cannot be abrogated by senate or people. Freedom and the rights of property were in the world before Protestantism; they came not with Luther; they do not vanish with Calvin. They are the common privilege of mankind."

On the 8th of April, 1681, William Penn issued the following proclamation to his vassals and subjects :—"My friends, I wish you

all happiness here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God in His providence to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty and an honest mind to do it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your change and the King's choice; for you are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the rights of any, nor oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me His grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire, for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with. I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am, your true Friend."

"Such," says Bancroft, "were the pledges of the Quaker sovereign on assuming the government. It is the duty of history to state that, during his long reign those pledges were redeemed."

Democracy would be safe in England or anywhere if men like William Penn were more plentiful. Have we such a man? To save my life I could not name him, hence I prefer constitutional reform, a steady upward growth in political knowledge by the masses, let men prove that they are worthy of manhood suffrage, let them respect the rights of others as they would their own. But although opposed to such a change as being ruled by Demos, I am an advocate for every right a man is entitled to, as a free and equal man in the eye of the law being at once conceded to him. I would abolish every class privilege that exists, and have no hesitation in saying that if our representatives were sincere and really anxious for the good of the people, another session would not be allowed to pass without much that is unjust being abolished.

As with individuals so with nations. When evil predominates states perish. Not only the electors but the elected have to learn to know the wisest and the best. They should copy William

Penn—be totally unselfish, not expounding, but acting up to the wise advice, 'Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, *and thy neighbour as thyself.*' Aye, when this be a living reality it will not matter the form of government, we should be *practising* what hitherto we have *preached.* True Democracy means the carrying out in our daily life the grand precept "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so unto them."

"A republic is one thing, the despotism of an aristocracy or of a democracy is another thing." We must have a system which establishes the rights of man, but at the same time the duties of men. Rights without duties is but another way of proclaiming force to be superior. Force may reign supreme under a democracy as under a monarchy. We want supreme a power that will protect and not trample on the rights of the people, and maintain the equality of all before the law, and that acts from a love of justice and a hatred of any privileged class. People talk of the horrors of the French revolution, but too many forget the cause. Think of the state of the people before that event, France ruined by the excesses of the nobility. The revolution was a severe surgical operation, a last resource, there was no other method available, and severe as was the remedy, terrible and revolting the excesses, we must not forget the inexorable law, "as we sow, we reap," "The sins of the fathers shall descend upon the children." A terrible law, true, but remember that obedience to the law of virtue is the essential condition for the well-being of the individual or nation. In loyalty to truth, to right, to justice, is the highest law of collective humanity, and it is fenced round with terrible penalties, which are the natural sequence of its violation.

"The ideal state is one in which every citizen is content with the laws under which he lives. If any body of men in a state agitate for a change of law, dissatisfaction is proved to exist, and by this much is the State disordered and unenviable. To produce universal satisfaction is possible only by meting out to every citizen the same measures. The slightest inequality produces disturbance, for only under equality are the parts free from strain,

and hence its repose. The State in equilibrium has then reached perfection in its political system."—EIGEURAC.

Every citizen content therein would truly be an ideal state, a result as unattainable as a perfect political system. But that system, call it by what name you please, which secures to all men in a nation an equality under the laws which govern it, is the one best calculated to make the majority content, and leave no real cause for those who are discontented. "Justice to all, privilege to none," should be the object of all government, as the essence of good government should be to secure the greatest good of the greatest number. The monarchical system, however perfect, is the rule of a privileged class, for the support of, and submission to, and worshipping of which, men have to bow their knees, as if the monarch were a being of a higher order, causing a feeling of inferiority and servility prejudicial to mankind. For a man's progress we must raise his self-respect; democracy does this by declaring all men to be equal before the law. Monarchy checks his progress by lowering him in his own eyes in making him subservient to the monarch and his followers.

Theoretically the democratic form of government is invulnerable. It is a government of the people by the people, as opposed to the government and rule over the people by a class or section of the people. It is the best and strongest possible form of government because it rests on public opinion. It has the strength of union, one united will, whereas the monarchical or class system is weak in England and elsewhere, as the people become enlightened, as they dare not be consistent but must yield to public opinion when any reformation is required. In England the middle classes have hitherto stopped a revolution because the existence of the class depends upon the maintainance of order and the mass of the people are opposed to lawlessness or anarchy. But let it be difficult for the middle class to hold their own, give them cause for discontent by insecurity of tenure, extortionate rents, and a feeling that the law helps the land-owner to rob them, by justifying the appropriation of the buildings, or improvements thereto without payment for the one, or compensa-

tion for the other; and I unhesitatingly say that unless the discontent caused by this feeling of being treated unjustly be stopped, we shall have a republic here within a quarter of a century.

Our sytem has been on its trial for some time, and in the government of Ireland has lamentably failed. Had our government been democratic, disorders in Ireland, the wish for separation, would have been refused as the north of America crushed the rebellion in the south. Why? Because under the republic men think of the country, under the monarchy, they think of party. It will be a lasting disgrace to England that in this crisis all politicians did not unite as one man to crush sedition and make the law respected. The excuse 'freedom of the individual' is ridiculous. What freedom can there be in a country where the juries are afraid to give their vote according to their judgment; or a man dare not pay his rent or take a farm out of which a man has been evicted, because of the terror of the secret society that supersedes the law. To oppose coercion because it interferes with the liberty of the individual is as absurd as it is false. It is mere claptrap and appeals to the imagination, a dangerous seed which will bear fruit ultimately. A Napoleon or a Cromwell would soon have settled the matter under a democratic form of government. The trouble may not have arisen, but if it had, it would have been at once peremptorily stopped.

The old country contrasts unfavourably with the new in her management of the alien races. The Irish will not settle down amicably with the English. In Triumphant Democracy, Mr. Carnegie says it is because of their political creed:—"All men are created free and equal." "Taught now to live and work for the common weal, and not for the maintenance of a Royal Family or an overbearing aristocracy, not for the continuance of a social system which ranks them beneath an arrogant class of drones, children of Russian and German serfs, of Irish evicted tenants, Scotch crofters, and other victims of feudal tyranny, are transmuted into Republican Americans, and are made one in love for a country which provides equal rights and privileges for all her children. There is no class so intensely patriotic, so wildly

devoted to the Republic as the naturalized citizen and his child for little does the native born citizen know of the value of rights which have never been denied. The Republic has solved the problem of governing large areas by adopting the federal or Home Rule system, and has proved to the world that the freest self-government of the parts produces the strongest government of the whole."

This is the task before us—to succeed, whether the system be monarchical, constitutional, or republican, we must begin by raising men's self-respect, make men ashamed to cringe, cease to be abjectly servile before a noble or a king, but stand up for his rights as a man,—the equal, politically of other men, believing the man who most respects himself would be the man who most respects the rights and feelings of others. We require in England a greater reverence for and belief in justice; we want abolished all technicalities that interfere with the strictest equity. Our foreign, colonial, and home policy should be based on the belief that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right. We want men to act up to the most philosophical as the most moral precept of "doing unto others as they would be done by."

Mr. Carnegie thinks highly of the influence of Democracy upon the people, he says:—"The rural Democracy of America could be as soon induced to sanction the confiscation of the property of their richer neighbours, or to vote for any violent or discreditable measures as it could be led to surrender the president for a king. Free institutions develop all the best and noblest characteristics, and these all tend in the direction of the golden rule. These honest, pure, contented, industrious, patriotic people really do consider what they would have others do to them. They ask themselves what is fair. Nor is there in Britain so conservative a body of men, but then it is the equality of their system—just and equal laws. Republicanism they are resolved to conserve. To conserve these they are at all times ready to fight, and, if need be, to die; for, to men who have once tasted of the elixir of political equality, life under unequal conditions could possess no charm.

"To every man is committed in some degree, as a sacred trust, the manhood of man; this he may not himself infringe or permit to be infringed by others. Hereditary dignities—political inequalities—do infringe the rights of man, and, hence, are not to be tolerated. The true Democrat must live the peer of his fellows or die struggling to become so."

'To live the peer of his fellows,' is a beautiful expression; clearly understand the sense in which I use the term, before the law there should be no inequality: man as man should rank as equal, there is no security for justice to all, unless there be 'privilege to none.' It is the duty of men held in the toils of feudalism, as more or less all are that inhabit the old countries of the world, to vindicate their right to rise to the full stature of equal citizenship. But do not forget there must be leaders, and, call the form of government what you will, these leaders will rule. The few will always direct and the many obey. The true patriot will put before the people a few simple rules for their guidance. First and foremost, beware of the men who do not appeal to your sense of justice,—your belief in right,—your faith in the eternal, unchangeable laws of God. Avoid the plausible, unscrupulous time-server—the man without convictions based upon principle. Honour the men who dare disagree with you and prefer adherence to principle, even if it loses them popular favour or place. They may be wrong, but they are honest; their motive is not to use the people for their own ambitious aims, but to use their strength for the benefit of the people.

Since the extension of the Franchise we have been living in England under a Democratic Government. "The Queen reigns, but the people rule," if the people really understood the power they possess; when they do, let us hope they will wisely use it. We have not learnt much unless experience has taught us that 'the key of the past, as of the future, must be sought in the present'; we must believe in cause and effect, and a little reflection will teach us that human nature is very much alike; therefore, whether we be ruled by king, noble, the middle class, or the people, the result will be the same—a rule more or less guided by selfish motives.

Therefore, it seems to me that what we have to strive for is to improve the character and elevate the aims and aspirations of the people, so that the desire of the majority being for the good of the commonwealth and not for the ruling body; the people will earnestly and conscientiously use their endeavours to get those men torepresent them who are influenced by the same unselfish desires; men who, if elected, will try to make things better on earth by a fair and honest impartial justice. Do not be misled by thinking that government can do away with the inequalities of position, house the houseless, feed the hungry, or find work for the people, these are outside the power of government, whose functions consist in protecting the lives and property of its subjects. What we ask of government is to be above all distinctions, and to treat all men alike, irrespective of their position.

The struggle to live is as great in Republican America as in Monarchical Great Britain. Mr. Carnegie says:—"Many new arrivals fail, many would succeed better in their old homes. America is only a favoured land for the most efficient; drones have no place in her hive, but in whatever the emigrant may fail, whether in securing wealth or home, whether he remain poor or lose health, whether his lot be happy or miserable, there remains one great prize which cannot escape him, one blessing so bright, so beneficient, as to shed upon the darkest career the glory of its entrancing rays and compensate for the absence of material good. Upon every exile from home falls the boon of citizenship equal with the highest. The Republic may not give wealth or happiness; she has not promised these, it is the freedom to pursue these, not their realization, which the Declaration of Independence claims; but if she does not make the emigrant happy or prosperous, this she can do, and does do for every one, she makes him a citizen, *a man.*"

I am quite aware that many will consider the above statement as mere sentiment and out of the range of practical politics, but if the past teaches us one lesson more plainly than another, it is the extraodinary influence such a sentiment as the above has over men's actions. We get out of men

the minimum or maximum of what they are capable of according to the motive which causes their action, and, next to religion, 'freedom, liberty, equality,' is the great factor that has made men do their utmost and their best in all ages. What has made Great Britain the power she is out of proportion to her size and numbers but her efforts in the cause of liberty, her people acting with the energy that freedom alone can give. We all know the difference between what is done in a day or a week, by a workman doing his best in a contented and willing spirit, in comparison with the workman who thinks he has a grievance, is discontented, and does as little as possible, just enough not to be dismissed, but no more. But America has proved the value of 'free labour' over that of 'slave labour.' Abraham Lincoln with one stroke of the pen raised them from the condition of slavery to that of free men. Whilst slavery existed the Declaration of Independence was a mockery. But the slaves have been made free, and they now exercise the suffrage just as other citizens do. There is not a privilege possessed by any citizen which is not theirs, the English poet says :—

> "Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free,—
> They touch our country and their shackles fall."

No more can they exist in England's child land, and the declaration of independence asserting the freedom and equality of men is no longer a mockery.

"Grave apprehensions were entertained that freedom suddenly granted to these poor slaves would be abused. Those best acquanted with their habits, the southern slave holders predicted as a result of freedom universal idleness, riot and dissipation. It was asserted that the negro would not work save under the lash of the overseer. None of these gloomy predictions have been fulfilled—every one of them has been falsified. There is now more cotton grown than ever and at less cost. Under the reign of freedom the material resources of the south have increased faster than ever before. Indeed so surprised were most Americans by the result of the last census that it was

insisted that mistakes had been made: the figures could not be right, and in some districts the enumeration was made a second time, with the result of verifying the former figures. The number of congress-men to each state is determined every ten years by the population shown by the census. When the census of 1880 was made the general expectation was that the Northern states would increase their proportionate representation; but the Southern states not only held their own, but actually gained. The ninety-eight Southern representatives were increased by thirteen, while the hundred and ninety-five Northern representatives gained only eighteen—only half the Southern ratio of increase. Even the unexampled growth of the North-western states was insufficient to give the Northern states a proportionately increased legislative power. So much for freedom *versus* slavery!

"The universal testimony is that the former slaves rapidly develop the qualities of free men and exhibit, in a surprising degree, the capacity to manage their own affairs. Many of them at once engaged with their former masters to work a part of the plantation upon shares. Others bargained for the purchase of strips of land. They were now quite orderly and well behaved, and much more industrious than before." (*"Triumphant Democracy."*)

> "Freedom hath a thousand charms to show
> That slaves, howe'er contented, never know."

We judge of a tree by its fruits, of a man by his acts; and can only rightly estimate the value of this or that form of government according to its results, in securing what it is intended for—the enabling the people under its charge to lead their lives feeling secure that what they earn will be theirs, and no restrictions or impediments put in their way for making the most of their mental or physical powers, or technical skill, except in seeing that no injustice is done to any one else. 'No injustice to anyone'—here lies our weakness,—our land laws are unjust. Slaves are more industrious now they are free. Why? Because they are working for themselves and not for another. To make a man contented, industrious and thrifty, there must be an incentive; the principal motive is getting on in the world for his own com-

fort and those dependent upon him. Our land system raises the rent paid by every occupier of land or house, and, as all trade expenses have to be considered in the price charged, also raises the price of all articles; but there is a limit to its operation in prices. For instance, in London we leaseholders complain of the premiums and increased rents asked at renewal of lease, owing to the improvement in the premises made with our money. How does this operate? If A has been paying £300 a year, and at renewal is charged £600, can he get the extra £300 from his customers? No. By the operation of our land system the £300 is taken out of the earnings of A's industry and appropriated by B. Is such a system likely to make men contented? No. It means to nineteen out of twenty tradesmen ruin—the majority cannot leave and struggle on, hoping for the best; but this can only last for a time. "This is not happening in Poland, but in the capital of a great free country. A bad system and hard, injudicious men have filled with gloom and forboding hundreds of London houses. Surely this is not good for the State. Surely the system ought not to be perpetuated? Surely a remedy is to be found. The first object of the existence of our English community should not be the filling of the *porte monnaie* even of Portmans." (The Great Landlords of London, *Sunday Times*, April 15th, 1888.)

These articles in the *Sunday Times*, a Conservative paper, must do a great deal of good. That such things could happen in England as represented therein as taking place upon the estate of 'the great Landlords of London' is almost incredible. They have always had the power, but it has been reserved for our time to see these vast estates all (except the Portland) put under the management of men who seem determined to ruin their noble masters. In the article, April 22, reference is made to Mount Street, which I have stated to be utterly unfitted for tradesmen; but they are built to please the Duke of Westminster's love of architecture. We are told, "Very noble and public-spirited of the Duke," it may be observed. Just so, but then these great edifices were not raised at his cost, but at the present tenants', out of their hard-earned savings, the commercial credit they possess,

and on pain of having to wander forth. They constructed this massive pile no more willingly than did the children of Israel some thousands of years ago expend their energies in deference to the task-masters of Pharoah.

"Each of these new houses cost on an average seven thousand pounds to build, and, in certain instances the occupier has found his outlay run up to nine thousand pounds, and has had no choice in the matter. He has been obliged to follow the Duke's plans, and his liberty has been further fettered in that he has had to accept the Duke's architects. . . . And we may venture to enquire what moral right the Duke of Westminster has to compel old tenants of fifty years' standing to go to an enormous expense at grave risk to themselves, to launch out in such an experiment. Then, be it borne in mind that, after paying a large ground rent and spending from £7,000 to £9,000 on the house, the premises will go to the descendants of the Duke, without one pennyworth of compensation to the descendants of the man who staked his capital and ventured his credit that they might stand a monument to the Duke's taste in architecture."

Our land system is the cancer that, if not removed, will cause the downfall of the monarchy.

> "Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, but men decay."

It must be bad for England when the law sanctions such a system of exaction and tyranny as that pursued in 1888 by the great landowners of the metropolis; a system that if not altered will bring about their own ruin. If we have a Republic here it will be caused by the narrow-minded selfishness of the great landowners, who should carefully consider the following:— "It has been observed that if the illustrious and long flourishing Republic of the United Provinces erected statues to the authors of its liberty, the first would be due to Cardinal Granville, whose tyrannical principles provoked the spirit of resistance, and the second to the Duke of Alva who attempted to carry Granville's principles into effect." (Sir James Mackintosh.)

"A tyrannical dictator may do more to advance the true interests of Democracy than a moderate sovereign who is scrupulously guided by an antiquated constitution; for the tyrant adds vigour to his opponents by his deeds of oppression." (CAPEN.) It must be so; tyrants prepare the way for their own downfall, and cause the ruin of their own order. Why this outcry to-day against the great landowners? Because they are exacting their legal rights in the spirit of Shylock instead of as heretofore, like English gentlemen. Guizot asks "For what have nations blessed kings? Was it for their pretensions to divine right, to absolute power? For their profusion? For their courts? No; kings assailed the feudal system and aristocratic privileges; they introduced unity into legislation, and into the executive administration; they aided the progress of equality."

The curse of all times has been these feudal rights and privileges, a few men arrogating to themselves the right to crush and tyrannize over their fellow men, treating them as vassals in the past, and subjecting them to toil and anxiety, in the present. The drones living upon the labour of others. There is no help to-day to be had from the Monarch; we must help ourselves, and shall do this best by helping one another. We want organizations in every parish of the kingdom to collect evidence how the Land Laws operate, keep a record of every exaction, every exercise of 'a right based upon privilege,' we must have public meetings to explain how one and all suffer by this relic of feudal times. We must be united, and each do his best for his fellow man to get justice for the occupying tenant and leaseholder. The remedy is in our own hands if we have but the moral courage to enforce it. Make the land laws a test question at every election until we get a majority of representatives sufficiently large to shew the House of Lords the system is doomed.

"Monarchy is the best Government, or the worst." PLATO.

I am no Democrat, but if Monarchy will not help the people in their struggle with the aristocratic landowners, Democracy must. It is said that, just before his execution, Charles the First declared:—"That contempt of the rights of the sovereign was the

true cause of the people's misfortunes, that the people ought to have no share in the government, that upon this condition alone would the country regain peace and its liberties." We take quite the opposite view now, and maintain that it is the exercise of what remains of these old so-called 'rights' of the feudal lord that is causing, and will cause still more, the people's misfortunes.

Charles claimed to be king by Grace of God. All things were *A Deo et rege.* "It was gravely maintained that the supreme Being regarded hereditary Monarchy, as opposed to other forms of government, with peculiar favour; that the rule of succession in order of primogeniture was a divine institution, anterior to the Christian, and even to the Mosaic dispensation; that no human power, not even that of the whole Legislature—no length of adverse possession, though it extended to ten centuries, could deprive the legitimate prince of his rights; that his authority was always necessarily despotic; that the laws by which in England and in other countries the prerogative was limited, were to be regarded merely as concessions which the sovereign had freely made and might at pleasure resume; and that any treaty into which a king might enter with his people was merely a declaration of his present intentions, and not a contract of which the performance could be demanded" (Macaulay.) Time, the great revolutionist, has altered our opinion as to what are the rights of kings, and although a Monarchy is a government of a single person, the power of the Monarch has been much limited in Great Britain by legislation—so much so that we may say what Victor Hugo said in his speech on the question of revising the French Constitution 1851:—"I affirm in the name of the eternal laws of human morality that Monarchy is an historical fact and nothing more"—Why? Because as Lord Brougham says—"Monarchy is naturally extravagant—it is splendid and it is expensive—it is reckless of the general suffering from the burdens of taxation; and it is prone to consider only the interests and enjoyments of courts and persons in authority."

This extravagance and expenditure of the court in the past blinded the peoples eyes, as the expenditure of the aristocratic

landowners does at the present day. How can it benefit the people for a class to spend what they have not earnt? Take the example I gave of A who has to pay £600 for rent instead of £300, would it not be better for the people, if A had the £300 a year to employ in business instead of B to squander it in luxury and extravagance?—"The effects of pure Monarchy and its companion aristocracy, upon the character and habits of the nation are easily traced. The tendency is towards making men regard only their superiors. The will of the court and upper classes becomes the law, and their habits the example for all. Court favour and the countenance of nobles are the objects of universal pursuit. The sterling, the manly virtues are little cultivated. . . . Personal courage, honourable feelings, public spirit, exist in the upper classes, and exist in good measure; but it is to please and serve the masters of the state. . . . There is one virtue which this Constitution and all Monarchy possesses beyond any other, the fixed order of succession by inheritance. . . . Elective Monarchy is of all forms of government the worst and the most inconsistent with itself. . . . No absolute Monarchy can exist without the rule of inheritance; no limited Monarchy can well exist without it. When the people are fit to be entrusted with the choice of their chief magistrate they are fit for living under a commonwealth" (Lord Brougham.)

"Condorcet, although an aristocrat by genius and by birth, became a democrat from philosophy" (Lamartine.)

I am a Monarchist, but will gladly hail a democratic form of goverment, when the people are sufficiently advanced to be the subjects of it. Democracy represents the great principle of progress. "It is onward and outward in its movements. It has a heart for action, and motives for a world. It constitutes the principle of diffusion, and is to humanity what the centrifugal force is to the revolving orbs of a universe. What motion is to them, Democracy is to principle. It is the soul in action. It conforms to the providence of God. It has confidence in man, and an abiding reliance in his high destiny. It seeks the largest liberty, the greatest good, and the surest happiness. It aims to

build up the great interests of the many, to the least detriment of the few. It remembers the past, without neglecting the present. It establishes the present, without fearing to provide for the future. It cares for the weak, while it permits no injustice to the strong. It conquers the oppressor, and prepares the subjects of tyranny for freedom. It melts the bigots heart to meekness, and reconciles his mind to knowledge. It dispels the clouds of ignorance and superstition, and prepares the people for instruction and self-respect. It adds wisdom to legislation, and improved judgment to Government. It favours enterprise that yields a reward to the many, and an industry that is permanent. It is the pioneer of humanity—the conservator of nations. It fails only when it ceases to be true to itself. *Vox populi est Vox Dei* has proved to be both a proverb and a prediction.

"A few years since, a member of the United States Senate sneeringly asked Senator Allen, of Ohio, the question, "What is Democracy?" The following was the prompt reply:—"Democracy is a sentiment not to be appalled, corrupted or compromised. It knows no baseness; it cowers to no danger; it oppresses no weakness; destructive only of despotism, it is the sole conservator of liberty, labour, and property. It is the sentiment of freedom, of equal rights, of equal obligations,—the law of nature pervading the law of the land." ("History of Democracy," CAPEN.)

"What are the favorite maxims of Democracy? A strict observance of justice and public faith, and a steady adherence to virtue. These, sir, are the principles of a good government." (JUDGE MARSHALL).

"Democracy," says the late Mr. Legaré, in an article published in the *New York Review*, "In the high and only true sense of that much abused word, is the destiny of nations, because it is the spirit of christianity."

"A man's supremacy over his own accidents,"—is a definition that has been given of democracy.

The above wants much serious reflection. I think it errs in claiming too much for Democracy, more than can be expected of

man in his present state of development. We must understand human nature better, more especially the mind, and strive after a gradual but steady improvement, onward and upward, by a more perfect, that is a more scientific adaptation of means to ends, understanding better, and resolved to rigidly adhere to natural laws. Man is a wonderful being, and how full of meaning is the remark of Guizot that—"After all, whatever external events may be, it is man himself who makes the world" The world is what it is, so far as regards the comfort and happiness of the people therein, according to man's knowledge of and obedience to the laws of nature; and its penury, misery, crime, disease, may be traced to man's ignorance of, or disobedience to the natural laws. We must teach the young to study the law of cause and effect; how these laws have operated in the past, are operating in the present, will affect the future, more especially as applicable to the form of government. We must impress upon all before beginning the battle of life that "Every man is bound, by a natural obligation inseparable from his birth, to use all his lights, and all his powers, to avert all evil, and to promote all good to the people or race from which he springs." Briefly, whether the Government be democratic or monarchical, for the good of his country it is the duty of every man to work; to use his bodily and mental faculties; to do the best he can with the power within him; to select his occupation judiciously, and to work on therein, so long as he is able, steadily, faithfully, trustingly, hopefully to the end, self-reliant and self-dependent.

I will now give a brief summary of the progress made by the people of Great Britain during the last half-century, a country where the relics of the old system interferes as little as anywhere with modern views and liberty; and by the people of America where the republican form of government has been the most successful, and the greatest progress has been made by the people.

FIFTY YEARS OF DEMOCRACY.

"We stand for the rights of man. The day of Kings and Peers is past. Down privilege, Down. Ring in the reign of the people, the equality of the citizen."

The days are past for the old cry "God save the King," for this we now substitute "God save the people."

There are two rights that every man has—all over the world—the right of equal justice before the law, and the liberty to do the best he can with his abilities—unrestricted by taxes, except such as are absolutely necessary, free of all impositions, direct or indirect, that have been imposed in the past for the benefit of privileged land-owners, or the sinecurist classes. The right to hold the land for ever, without paying the state a tax for the use of it; and hereditary pensions should be at once abolished.

'Triumphant Democracy, or fifty years march of the Republic' is the title of Mr. Andrew Carnegie's book in which he pours out his gratitude to the land of his adoption, his beloved Republic, and his love to the land of his birth, by showing the democracy of Britain "the progress, prosperity and happiness of this child, the Republic, that they may still more deeply love it, and learn that the government of the people, through the Republican form and not the government of a class, through the Monarchial form, is the surest foundation of individual growth and of national greatness."

The author says: he shall have received an ample reward if the information he has collected and arranged in his work brings "men together in the bonds of genial affection, or hastened by one hour the day in which my native land shall stand forth with my adopted land under the only noble political creed—that which proclaims the equality of the citizen."

There is much in this book to amaze us. The progress of the United States is 'simply marvellous,' the growth of a century the Republic has reached the foremost rank among nations, and is

destined soon to out-distance all others in the race. Mr. Carnegie's object is to prove by his statistics that:—"In population, in wealth, in annual saving, in public conduct, in freedom from debt, in agriculture, and in manufactures, America already leads the civilized world."

I have thought it would be interesting and useful to put side by side some of these statistics of the two countries—and although they are calculated to take the conceit out of us, it is always best to know the truth, and to face it like men. In Americans we have truly 'a foe worthy of our steel.' It is useless to attempt to stop her taking the lead, it is her place, but if wise, we shall wisely follow in her steps and although beaten, die game, keeping the distance between us as little as the resources at our command will admit of.

POPULATION.—Great Britain takes seventy years to double her population. The Republic has repeatedly doubled hers in twenty-five years—in 1831 Great Britain and Ireland contained twenty-four millions of people—in 1881 thirty-four millions. In 1831 the Republic contained thirteen millions, in 1881, fifty millions—England gained ten millions, the United States thirty-seven millions in the half-century—the Republic has the advantage over the Monarchy in population by the proportion of three to two—and every year will make the difference greater. England has no chance against America as regards population.

WEALTH.—In 1850 the total wealth of Great Britain was £4,500,000,000, while that of the Republic was but £1,686,000,000, about one third. In 1882 the total wealth of the Monarchy was £8,720,000,000, in 1880 the wealth of the Republic was £9,790,000,000; in thirty-two years the Monarchy could barely double her wealth; in thirty-two years the Republic had increased hers sixfold, and in wealth has the advantage of the Monarchy. Not only in earning but in savings America comes first, her annual savings are £210,000,000, those of the Monarchy are only £154,000,000. England has no chance in the struggle for wealth against America.

SHIPPING.—Here at present the Republic takes second place. In 1880 the carrying power of Great Britain was eighteen millions

of tons; that of the Republic nine millions. The Americans are not the people to be second where there is a possibility of being first, but here at least we may hope that the Monarchy will hold its own against her formidable rival.

RAILWAYS.—When we turn to the internal commerce of the United States, we get an idea of the restless and irresistible energy of this remarkable people. "The internal commerce of the United States exceeds the entire foreign commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Austria, Hungary and Belgium combined. For railway freight over 110 millions sterling are annually paid, a greater sum than the Railway freightage of Great Britain, France and Italy collectively, and more than is earned by all the ships in the world exclusive of America's own earning from ships. The Pensylvanian railroad system alone transports more tonnage than all Britain's merchant ships."

RAILWAYS.—We get here the key to the wonderful progress of the Republic in fifty years, and it indicates why the Monarchy has no chance in the race. With the capacity to utilize to the utmost modern knowledge, with unlimited natural resources, with indomitable energy and enterprise, the Republic was able to seize at once upon the help of the railway system for quick and cheap carriage of men and goods—the Monarchy had to struggle against a lot of vested interests, obstacles were and are still put in the way of every new railway, the important point, 'cheapness of distribution' is impossible here, owing to the difficulty and costs of getting permission to have a railway, and the high price that has to be paid for the land. In railways the Republic has beaten the Monarchy, and must occupy the first place.

One of the series of letters in the *Times* 'A Visit to the States,' that of 24th October, 1887, give the history of the Pullman Car.

"Probably the best known Chicago name throughout America, as well as abroad, is that of Pullman, which has become a word synonymous with all the phrases that describe the completest comfort in railway travelling. George M. Pullman came from

New York, and was originally a cabinetmaker, his first services to Chicago being in devising ingenious methods for raising its buildings, some thirty years ago, when it was decided to place the city upon a higher level in order to secure drainage. He raised the buildings by putting hundreds of jackscrews under them, while trade went on without interruption during the process. In those days the appliances for securing the comfort of the railway traveller on long journeys were in their infancy, and the first rude attempts were being made to devise a sleeping coach. Mr. Pullman on one occasion went into a sleeping coach upon a night train and laid down upon the berth, but did not sleep. He was stretched out upon the vibrating couch for about two hours with eyes wide open, and in that time had struck upon a new idea. When he arose and left the train he had determined to develope from his brief experience of that inchoate sleeping berth a plan that was destined to expand into the completest and most comfortable coach for the traveller, either awake or sleeping—a home upon wheels. During several years he revolved the project in his fertile brain, and his first experiment was made in 1859, when he turned two ordinary passenger coaches into sleeping cars, and placed them upon the night trains of the Chicago and Alton railway between Chicago and St Louis, one running each way. He charged 2s. for a berth, and the first night his receipts were 8s. When Pullman settled in Chicago permanently and began this business, he thought himself well-to-do in the world with a capital all told of £1,600.

"The development of the sleeping-car project, which is the history of a busy life, shows the possibilities of the Great West, both in the effect of the growth of a city and a business in the expansion of a man, and the influence of a man in building a city. It was not until he had run his experimental coaches for about five years that Mr. Pullman felt able to carry out his plan as he had evolved it in his brain, and he then built his ideal sleeping coach. This took a year to construct, in 1864-65, and was built in a rude shed in a railway car yard in Chicago. He called it the "Pioneer," and it cost £3,600, and in it he developed his idea of

harmony, which combined comfort and luxury with attractiveness of decoration, and when finished it was regarded as a marvel far in advance of any railway coach construction of that day. This first coach is still doing daily and profitable duty upon the Pullman lines. But when it was completed, although its fame travelled far, yet it was so heavy, so wide, and so high that no railway could undertake to run it, as it necessitated elevating bridges and cutting off station platforms. He had a famous white elephant on his hands, but he bided his time. Suddenly President Lincoln's assassination profoundly shocked the country, and the funeral, with its escort of mourning statesmen, was progressing from Washington to Chicago on the way to the grave at Lincoln's home in Springfield, the capital of Illinois. The nation was watching its progress, and the railway transporting the *cortége* were doing their best. The railway between Chicago and Springfield asked for the use of the "Pioneer" in the funeral train. They sent out gangs of men, and cut off the station platforms, elevated the bridges, and took several days to prepare the line, so that the coach could go over it, and Pullman's dream at last was realised. His coach of the future carried the dead President to his grave, and became known throughout the world. A few weeks later General Grant, the conqueror of the rebellion, had a triumphial progress from the camp to his Illinois home. Five days were spent in clearing the railway between Detroit and Galena, where he lived, and the "Pioneer" carried the General over that line.

"Mr. Pullman then had the future in his own hands. The public had seen his coach, and the most distinguished men had been riding in it. They would be satisfied with nothing inferior, and the railways began demanding the coaches. The lines leading out of Chicago used them, and before long they were put upon the Great Pacific and the Pennsylvania lines. The result is "Pullman's Palace Car Company," which to day has invested in its works and coaches nearly six millions sterling, and is besides the greatest railway car-builder in America, furnishing all kinds of equipment to railways from Canada to Texas, and having 1,400 of its own palace coaches running, to carry the first-class passen-

gers upon 80,000 miles of American railways, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Halifax and Quebec to San Francisco and the city of Mexico, as well as much more in Europe. These coaches run into every city in the States, and cover nearly all the available mileage, the Wagner coaches upon the Vanderbilt lines being largely constructed after the Pullman style, and many of them built at the Pullman shops. . . .

"Another Pullman enterprise will have great interest for English readers. The company so rapidly expanded into enormous business that a few years ago it became necessary to provide permanent construction shops for its works near Chicago. The result has been the building of the model manufacturing town of Pullman, about ten miles south of Chicago, and practically a suburb of the great city. It has been all made within seven years, upon a tract of land that had no inhabitants as late as 1880. Lake Calumet, an oval sheet of water, about three miles long, is situated a short distance inland from Lake Michigan, and the Illinois Central Railway passes south from Chicago on its long journey to the Gulf of Mexico, a short distance to the westward. A tract of nearly 4,000 acres was acquired with this railway running down its centre, and stretching along the narrow strip between the lake and the railway is the town of Pullman, spreading for almost two miles, with its shops and parks, its ornamental grounds and comfortable homes for the operatives. . . .

"No place in the United States has attracted more attention or been more closely watched than Pullman. Like the sleeping coach, the town is the development of an idea, worked out to harmonious and successful results by its inventor. It is the extension of the broadest philanthropy to the working man, based upon the strictest business principles. There has been £1,500,000 invested in carrying out this idea, and every penny is at the same time made to return an income. The operatives in the first instance are employed upon wages paid every fortnight, and there earnings are said to exceed those of any other community of working people in the United States,

averaging per capita (exclusive of the higher pay of the general management) £118 per annum. There are some 4,000 operatives, and the pay disbursed in money every fortnight is about £20,000. The company, in order to secure the best return, seeks to provide in the completest possible way for its people. Their workshops, covering about eighty-three acres, are constructed in the most airy and healthful manner, and upon these about £750,000 has been expended. . . .

"This carefulness, combined with the excellent sanitary arrangements and the vigour of a working population largely composed of people in the prime of life, makes the town an abnormally healthy place. It has for its 10,000 people only four physicians and one funeral purveyor, and they say more could not earn a living, for the annual death-rate is only eight in 1,000 compared with twenty-two in Chicago. Yet births at the rate of 400 in a year, combined with the influx of new arrivals, show how the census will expand, for new houses are built in accordance with the general comprehensive plan as the increase of population may require. The householder has no care for streets, water, gas, drainage, garbage, or for the lawns and trees, as these are all looked after by the company, which thus stands in place of and does even more than the ordinary American town government, besides having its affairs incomparably better managed. There is throughout Pullman an air of artistic harmony and neatness that is very attractive; while the operatives and their families appear in a far better condition, and look as if they were of an improved class compared with those usually seen in factory towns. Schools and churches are provided, and one church —the Presbyterian—is an exquisitely beautiful building that fits as a gem into the picture. The various secret and charitable societies that have so generally spread over the States, such as the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, and others, all flourish. If the content of the working men can be secured by good treatment and pleasant surroundings, then the inhabitants of this model town out to be supremely happy. The great Corliss steam engine, looking like two enormous Cornish pumps, which was so much

admired as it moved the vast aggregation of machinery at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, has been transported to this place, and stands in the centre of the extensive workshops, furnishing the motive power which turns out £6,000 worth of completed work every day. The army of operatives who serve around it are in no way restricted in thought or action outside the shops, either in politics or religion, in their habits or amusements, or as to where or how they expend their earnings, which (less their rent) are always paid every fortnight in cash. When these wonderful industrial and philanthropic results, achieved upon the bank of Lake Calumet by one of the leading men of Chicago, are considered, it seems almost a miracle that has been wrought, even in this rapidly developing Western country, in thus turning an uninhabited prairie into a populous, industrious, and attractive town within the short space of seven years."

No apology is needed for this long extract. Its value is apparent in showing us what America and Americans can do. The Pullman Company, its rise and progress should be carefully studied alike by the Politician and Social Reformer. The success of the Company is unique, and it deserves its success, it is a splendid example of what can be done by enlightened selfishness. Man's intellect working in harmony with science and philosophy, and having faith in the principle, that in studying the happiness of others, we most surely secure our own; so that in studying the health, comfort and happiness of its workpeople, it has secured its own legitimate and praiseworthy reward. These are the men we want. The men we should be trained to reverence and honour, men who can originate and create new industries, men like Pullman, Salt of Saltaire, and Godin of Guise, who have made fortunes through honest toil and then have devoted their fortunes and abilities so to improve the industrial system as to give the class they sprung from a better chance in the struggle of life than it was possible for themselves to obtain. Only those who have to undergo the ordeal know the difficulty the less favoured of the race, mentally and physically, have in earning their daily bread. The human problem is a difficult one, but we might all

help in rescuing some from drowning in the struggle, and should, if it were impressed more upon us, the continuity of mankind's long struggle from the beginning until now. If we thought more of the struggles of life we should sympathise more with those who fail, and realize that :—

> "Yet tears to human suffering are due,
> And mortal hopes defeated and o'erthrown,
> Are mourned by man, and not by man alone,
> As fondly we believe."

"In military and naval power the Republic is at once the weakest and the strongest of nations. Her regular army consists of but 25,000 men, scattered all over the Continent in companies of 50 or 100. Her navy, thank God! is as nothing. But twenty-five years ago, as at the blast of a trumpet, she called into action two millions of armed men and floated six hundred and twenty-six war ships. Even the vaunted legions of Xerxes and the hordes of Attila and Timour were exceeded in numbers by the citizen soldiers who took up arms in 1861 to defend the unity of the nation, and who, when the task was done, laid them quietly down and returned to the avocations of peace. As Macaulay says of the soldiers of the Commonwealth :—"In a few months there remained not a trace indicating that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community." And the character of the Republic's soldiers, too, recalls his account of this Republican army of Cromwell's. "The Royalists themselves confessed that in every department of honest industry, the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none were charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask for alms, and that if a baker, a mason, or a waggoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers." This was when the parent land was free from hereditary rulers and under the invigorating influence of Republican institutions. Thus do citizens fight on one side of the Atlantic as on the other, and, grander far, thus return to the pursuits of peace. Not for throne, for king, or for privileged class, but

for *country*, for a country which gives to the humblest every privilege accorded to the greatest, one says instinctively—

> "Where's the coward that would not dare
> To fight for such a land?"

"Britons as Republicans were of course, invincible. What chance in the struggle has a Royalist who cries "My king" against the citizen whose patriotic ardour glows as he whispers, "My country?" The "God save the king" of the monarchist grows faint before the nobler strain of the Republican—

> "God bless our native land!"

The Republic has the advantage over the monarchy in being free of that millstone, "a costly army and navy." What lives and treasure have been squandered in the past fighting for "the king." Never more, except for "our country" should battles be fought, and as for defence of "our country" every man would fight to the last, what need is there, then, of large standing armies?

"The Republic wants neither standing army nor navy. In this his her chief glory and her strength. Resting securely upon the love and devotion of all her sons, she can, Cadmus-like, raise from the soil vast armed hosts, who fight only in her defence, and who, unlike the seed of the dragon, return to the avocations of peace when danger to the Republic is past. The American citizen who will not fight for his country if attacked is unworthy the name, and the American citizen who could be induced to engage in aggressive warfare is equally so. Happily, "there is no such man."

"Of more importance even than commercial or military strength is the Republic's commanding position among nations in intellectual activity; for she excels in the number of schools and colleges, in the number and extent of her libraries, and in the number of newspapers and other periodicals published."

"In the application of science to social and industrial uses, she is far in advance of other nations. Many of the most important practical inventions which have contributed to the progress of the world

during the past century have originated with Americans. No other people have devised so many labour-saving machines and appliances. The first commercially successful steamboat navigated the Hudson, and the first steamship to cross the Atlantic sailed under the American flag from an American port. America gave to the world the cotton gin, and the first practical mowing, reaping and sewing machines. In the most spiritual, most ethereal of all departments in which man has produced great triumphs, viz., electricity, the position of the American is specially noteworthy. He may be said to have almost made this province his own, for, beginning with Franklin's discovery of the identity of lightning and electricity, it was an American who devised the best and most widely-used system of telegraphy, and an American who boldly undertook to bind together the old and the new land with electric chains. In the use of electricity for illuminating purposes America maintains her position as first wherever this subtile agent is invoked. The recent addition to the world's means of communication, the telephone, is also to be credited to the new land.' (CARNEGIE.)

The Republic is entitled to the high praise accorded to her by Mr. Carnegie, The Americans are unequalled for their inventive genius and their indomitable energy. I gave the long extract from the *Times* about Mr. Pullman as an instance of the scope there is there for exceptional men to show what can be accomplished. There is no possibility in the old country of "turning an uninhabited prairie into a populous, industrious, and attractive town within the short space of seven years."

Chicago is another instance of rapid growth, an expansion so unexampled that if it continues, it must become ultimately the largest and most important in the States. Yet "So youthful is this municipal giant and so recent has been its marvellous growth that scarce any of the leading spirits who are making it what it is were born here. Almost all came to Chicago after attaining manhood, being attracted by its business advantages. The New England race and the New York yankee, who is descended from New England stock, have been the chief builders and developers

of Chicago, and are to-day its most prominent men in public spirit, in trade, and in wealth."—*Times*, Oct. 24, 1887.

Truth is said to be stranger than fiction, and few of us who have passed fifty but could confirm the saying. Aladdin's lamp and Monte Cristo are fictitious tales that used to hold us spell-bound with their descriptions of wealth, but the histories of the leading men still alive in Chicago are more wonderful still, and it is fact *versus* fiction, results realized by man's intelligence and energy, not the mere creations of men of genius. The history of Chicago is like a fairy tale, its rapid growth has no equal in the world's history. The present generation has seen its development, a growth so rapid that the amount of business done is second only to that of New York. How has it been done? Its natural position, which fits it to be the depôt and storehouse for the products and the supplies for the enormous prairie region around it, and for the great North-west and the country as far out as the Rockies and the Pacific, has drawn there the shrewdest men of the great West to take part in its vast and profitable enterprizes. The Armour packing houses conduct the largest annual business among the great houses of America. "Philip D. Armour, the head of this enterprize of beef and pork, is in life, and was of New York origin, a bluff, hearty, and vigorous hard-headed business man. Whether it be in meats, in wheat or in railways, or in anything else, he is fully imbued with the expansive and versatile trading spirit of Chicago, and is always ready for any operation, no matter how extensive or intricate, that presents fair opportunity for profit. Chicago also possesses the greatest merchant of America. It might be supposed that New York would be the city most likely to have the largest purely mercantile establishment in the United States, and such was the case in the last generation, when Alexander T. Stewart was the leader of trade there. But changed methods have come with newer people and the Western world of America is advancing. Chicago used to be in debt to New York and dependent for supplies. Now the Lake City is not only out of debt, but is herself very rich, and a creditor of the country further westward. Her merchant princes

long since cut themselves loose from New York intermediaries and are now buyers at first hand, while they have a boundless and rapidly growing region to supply. The leading Chicago merchant, whose house conducts the largest purely mercantile business in the country, if not in the world, to-day, is Marshall Field. a modest man, of New England birth, who is also the wealthiest citizen of Chicago, and of the entire State of Illinois, having a fortune estimated at £4.000,000, and being the head of a great dry goods and miscellaneous establishment, with annual sales exceeding £6,000,000. His extensive retail mart is in State Street, and in another part of the city an entire block is occupied by the magnificent building wherein is conducted his wholesale trade, extending to the remotest part of the country. Marshall Field is regarded as the leading Chicago merchant of the present very active generation.

"There are scores of other great Chicago merchants whose stores are architecturally imposing piles that cover acres, and whose wealth and trade have also made them multi-millionaires. Prominent among them are the Farwells, whose house is probably second only to that of Field. They are in the front rank of the builders and developers of the great city, and one of the brothers, Charles B. Farwell, is United States Senator from Illinois. These huge store buildings are as impressive in Chicago as they are in New York. Many blocks are occupied by them in the business section—through which runs the chief highway—State Street. The visitor to Chicago is always impressed with this magnificent highway, 125 feet wide lined with splendid buildings and crowded with busy people. This famous street owes much of its development to another Chicagoan, of New York birth—Potter Palmer—who originally bought a frontage of one mile upon this street, extended and widened it, embellishing it with splendid structures that made it the leading street. . . . Another of the prominent men in moving the industries of Chicago is L. J. Gage, the banker, who manages this bank in its large building on Dearborn Street, and has a force of 150 clerks to keep the accounts. With £600,000 capital and £200,000 surplus this

bank has sometimes nearly £5,000,000 deposits, and will have £12,000,000 clearings in a week, besides a vast exchange business with New York and London, based upon the immense eastward movement of corn and provisions on through bills of lading. It takes a clear head and resolute will, with great banking ability, to manage the exchanges and credits of such a place as Chicago; but this bright-eyed banker inherits from his Yankee ancestry the skill that for 20 years has controlled the banking policy of the great city, and done very much to assist its marvellous growth."—(*Times*, Oct. 24th, 1887.)

"In 1840 the population of Chicago was 4,500; ten years later 30,000; in ten years more 112,000. It now exceeds 700,000. This splendid city the "Queen of the West," leads the world in three branches of industry; she is pre-eminent as a lumber market, as a provision market, and, strange antithesis, as a manufactory of steel rails. Such a combination of "greatness" surely the world has not seen. Her statistics show the receipt of nearly two thousand million feet of lumber, and nine hundred million shingles per annum. Her yearly receipts of grain approach two hundred million bushels. Twenty-six million bushels can be laid away in her twenty-eight elevators,—a store which dwarfs the ostentatious garnering of the ancient Pharoahs as much as her enormous shipments outnumber the sacks of corn which Joseph's brethren carried away. Last year she received nearly two million cattle, a million sheep, and five million hogs, more than twenty-five thousand animals per day. So that there marches into Chicago every day in the year—Sundays and Saturdays included—a procession of victims, two miles and a half long, ten animals abreast. . . Chicago has moreover three steel rail mills within the city limits, and a fourth within 30 miles. Their combined capacity exceeds 500,000 tons annually, sufficient to put a light steel rail "girdle round the earth." There will probably be about as many steel rails made in and about Chicago alone next year as one half the total rail product of Great Britain. . . Fifty-five years ago it was only a trading post, where trappers and Indians bartered their pelts for fire-water and ammunition." (CARNEGIE.)

San Francisco, Jersey City, the City of Milwaukee (with a present population of 125,000, against two log houses in 1834), Minnesota, and its twin sister Minneapolis (the greatest wheat market in the West), Indianapolis, Kansas, Allegheny, Pittsburg, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Cincinnatti, Detroit, Rochester, Toledo, Scranton, all give evidence of a development in population and material prosperity without a parallel in the world's history. Does not the following read like a romance by Dumas ?:—

"In 1870, only fifteen years ago, except Superior and Duluth, the former a "straggling little hamlet," and the other "laid out on speculation in the woods on the lake shore," there was not a town, village, or hamlet westward on or near the line marked out for the Northern Pacific Railroad for more than a thousand miles. Between the head of the lake and the mining camps among the Rocky Mountains in Montana, no abodes of civilized men existed, save two or three military posts and Indian agencies, and a few isolated trading stations. Northern Minnesota was a forest, into which even the lumber man had not yet penetrated, save for a few miles back of Lake Superior. At present the whole line of the railway is dotted with thriving towns . . . . . The juvenile city is now the terminus of ten thousand miles of railway. Its receipts of wheat for 1884 approached fourteen million bushels. Saw mills are getting almost as plentiful as blackberries; and in a single year they cut two hundred and five million feet of lumber, besides eighty-five million lath and shingles. The clearances show that seven hundred steamers and nearly six hundred sail craft arrived at Duluth in 1884. Banking transactions amounted to thirty four million dollars a year. Storage capacity for grain is nearly ten million bushels. Lastly, the population of this magic city has bounded from two thousand five hundred in 1875 to eighteen thousand in 1884. Was ever the like known except in the triumphant Republic? (CARNEGIE.)

Mr. Carnegie, democrat as he is, has the candour to admit there are two other causes besides being a Republic that has developed this giant nation. "The causes which have led to the rapid growth and aggrandizement of this latest addition to the family of nations

constitute one of the most interesting problems in the social history of mankind. What has brought about such stupendous results—so unparalleled a development of a nation within so brief a period? The most important factors in this problem are three: the ethnic character of the people, the topographical and climatic conditions under which they developed, and the influence of political institutions founded upon the equaliy of the Citizen. "Certain writers in the past have maintained that the ethnic type of the people has less influence upon its growth as a nation than the conditions of life under which it is developing. The modern ethnologist knows better. We have only to imagine what America would be to-day if she had fallen, in the beginning, into the hands of any other people than the colonizing British, to see how vitally important is this question of race. America was indeed fortunate in the seed planted upon her soil. With the exception of a few Dutch and French it was wholly British; and the American of to-day remains true to this noble strain and is four-fifths British. The special aptitude of this race for colonization, its vigor and enterprise, and its capacity for governing, although brilliantly manifested in all parts of the world, have never been shown to such advantage as in America. Freed here from the pressure of feudal institutions no longer fitted to their present development, and freed also from the dominion of the upper classes, which have kept the people at home from effective management of affairs and sacrificed the nations interest for their own, as is the nature of classes, these masses of the lower ranks of Britons, called upon to found a new state, have proved themselves possessors of a positive genius for political administration.

"The second, and perhaps equally important factor in the problem of the rapid advancement of this branch of the British race, is the superiority of the conditions under which it has developed. The home which has fallen to its lot, a domain more magnificent than has cradled any other race in the history of the world, presents no obstruction to unity—to the thorough amalgamation of its dwellers North, South, East and West, into one homogeneous mass—for the conformation of the American con-

tinent differs in important respects from that of every other great division of the globe. In Europe the Alps occupy a central position, forming on each side watersheds of rivers which flow into opposite seas. In Asia the Himalaya, the Hindu Kush, and the Altai Mountains divide the continent, rolling from their sides many great rivers which pour their floods into widely separated oceans. But in North America the mountains rise up on each coast, and from them the land slopes gradually into great central plains, forming an immense basin where the rivers flow together in one valley, offering to commerce many thousand miles of navigable streams. The map thus proclaims the unity of North America, for in this great central basin, three million square miles in extent, free from impassable rivers or mountain barriers great enough to hinder free intercourse, political integration is a necessity and consolidation a certainty. . . . .

"Besides the rivers, the great lakes of America, estimated to contain one-third of all the fresh water in the world, are another important element in aid of consolidation. A ship sailing from any part of the world may discharge its cargo at Chicago in the North-West, a thousand miles inland. The Mississippi and its tributaries traverse the great western Basin, a million and a quarter square miles in extent, and furnish an internal navigable system of twenty thousand miles. A steamer starting from Pittsburg in Pensylvania, four hundred and fifty miles inland from New York, and two thousand from the mouth of the Mississippi, passing through these water highways, and returning to its starting place at that smoky metropolis of iron and steel, will sail a distance much greater than round the world. Nor will it in all its course be stopped by any government official, or be taxed by any tariff. The flag it carries will ensure free passage for ship and cargo, unimpeded by any fiscal charge whatever, for the whole continent enjoys the blessing of absolute freedom of intercourse among its citizens. In estimating the influences which promote the consolidation of the people, much weight must be given to this cause. Fifty-six millions of people, occupying an area which includes climatic differences so great that everything necessary for the wants of

man can be readily produced, exchange their products without inspection or charge. Truly here is the most magnificent exhibition of Free Trade which the world has ever seen. It would be difficult to set bounds to the beneficial effects of the wise provision of the national Constitution which guarantees to every member of the vast confederacy the blessings of unrestricted commercial intercourse.

"Not only from an economical point of view, but from the higher standpoint of its bearing upon the unity and brotherhood of the people, this unrestricted freedom of trade must rank as one of the most potent agencies for the preservation of the Union. Were each of the thirty-eight States of the American Continent to tax the products of the others we should soon see the dissolution of the great Republic into thirty-eight warring factions. If anyone doubts that Free Trade carries peace in its train let him study the internal Free Trade system of America." CARNEGIE.

I am glad to see this tribute to the merits of Free Trade, although limited to the internal policy of America, but if it is the cause of progress and peace internally between a people, the result must be, and would be the same if Free Trade were universal, binding the peoples of the world by the bonds of mutual interest. Freedom and liberty are impossible by a system of protection, disguise it under Fair Trade, Reciprocity, or what name you like; the attempt is to revive the policy of the past, and under the pretence of higher wages to this labour or protection to that industry, it means interference and obstruction by the Government, higher rents and higher prices to the consumers. Protection in any form is a privilege to one body of men, one kind of labour, to tax their fellow men. The true policy is the abolition of all privileges, all men to have equal rights, the labour of each to rest upon its merits, and the utmost liberty for all to do the best he can with his talents.

The third and most important factor in the rapid development of America is due to her political institutions. In the "equality of the people," the Democracy has a most powerful incentive to rouse the energies of the people—more especially the large num-

bers who go there from all lands, and who, denied equal privileges at home, are met with perfect equality in the new country, which makes them settle down there not only with them but part of them. Why? "Because they reach the shores of the Republic *subjects* (insulting word), and she makes them citizens; serfs, and she makes them men; and their children she takes gently by the hand, and leads to the public schools which she has founded for her own children, and gives them (without money and without price) a good primary education, as the most precious gift which she has—even in her bountiful hand—to bestow upon human beings. This is Democracy's "gift of welcome" to the new comer. The poor immigrant cannot help growing up passionately fond of his new home, and, alas, with many bitter thoughts of the old land which has defrauded him of the rights of man; and thus the threatened danger is averted—the homogeneity of the people secured.

"The unity of the American people is further powerfully promoted by the foundations upon which the political structure rests—the equality of the citizen. There is not one shred of privilege to be met with anywhere in all the laws. One man's right is every man's right. The flag is the guarantor and symbol of equality. The people are not emasculated by being made to feel that their own country decrees their inferiority, and holds them unworthy of privileges accorded to others. No ranks, no titles, no hereditary dignities, and therefore no classes. Suffrage is universal, and votes are of equal weight. Representatives are paid, and political life and usefulness thereby thrown open to all. Thus there is brought about a community of interests and aims which a Briton—accustomed to monarchical and aristocratic institutions, dividing the people into classes, with separate interests, aims, thoughts, and feelings—can only with difficulty understand.

"The free common school system of the land is probably, after all, the greatest single power in the unifying process which is producing the new American race. Through the crucible of a good common English education, furnished free by the State, pass the various racial elements—children of Irishmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Swedes—side by side with the native American;

all to be fused into one, in language, in thought, in feeling, and in patriotism. The Irish boy loses his brogue, and the German child learns English. The sympathies suited to the feudal system of Europe, which they inherit from their fathers, pass off as dross, leaving behind the pure gold of the only noble political creed: "All men are created free and equal."

"The American believes in Home Rule down to the smallest divisions, and has shown an admirable dislike of centralization. He will not call upon any authority to help him as long as he can help himself. Divide society into as many and as small divisions as you please, the smallest still remains a complete epitome—a microcosm of the whole. The council of a city is a perfect miniature of the Imperial Assembly. The observer recognizes its pocket editions of Cleveland, Gladstone. Blaine, and Salisbury; in the life of the city there stand the local Beecher and the local Spurgeon, the Spencer, Fiske, Huxley, Marsh, the Drs. Flint, Dennis, Mackenzie, the Black and the Howells. Yes, it has even its Arnold, Holmes. Lowell, Browning, and Whitman—all in miniature, no doubt, as befits the small stage upon which these tiny actors perform. Men and women divide into a few classes, and in every village these classes exist, and the smaller the body the more clearly defined the line between them in society. Oh, yes, there is even society in these villages, and leaders of fashion too—all the absurd things as well as the good things are present, not one missing; for as each grain composing the block of marble has within itself all that makes marble, so each gathering of men and women, no matter how small, has all that makes empires empires. Statesmen have but to allow free play to these forces to produce harmonious action. The American always does this in town and country. The Briton has pursued a different course, except recently in the towns, and the effect of exclusion from the management of their local affairs upon the character of the masses throughout the country districts has been deplorable. They are not yet men, they are in spirit only serfs. But as the right to vote for Members of Parliament was granted them last year, and they have just voted *en masse* against the

ruling class, the tide has begun to turn at last, and there must soon arise among them an irresistible movement for Home Rule within their own small divisions. . . . The republican is necessarily self-respecting, for the laws of his country, in full accord with the laws of God, begin by making him a man indeed, the equal of other men; and believe me, my readers, the man who most respects himself will be found the man who most respects the rights and feelings of others." (CARNEGIE.)

"There being education, there will be no distinction of classes." (CONFUCIUS.) The Republic has beaten the Monarchy in her grants for educational purposes. In fact, America is the only country in the world which spends more upon education than on war or preparations for war. Great Britain spends on her armaments four times as much as upon the education of her people; America spends twice as much upon education, that she spends upon her armaments. The Americans heartily endorse the opinion of Wendell Phillips:—"That education is the only interest worthy the deep, controlling anxiety of the thoughtful man." Upon no foundation but that of popular education can man erect the structure of an enduring civilization. This is the basis of all stability, and underlies all progress. Without it the State architect builds in vain." "The fair fabric of justice raised by Numa, passed rapidly away because it was not founded upon education." (PLUTARCH.)

There can be no doubt that the progress of America is due to the importance that has been paid to education. The progress of the Scotch is due to the same cause. "John Knox demanded a public school for every parish in Scotland, and it was the Protestant State of Germany that first undertook the education of the whole people. Fortunate, indeed, for the world that the demand for religious freedom necessarily involved the priceless boon of secular education." In the preamble to the Massachusetts school law of 1642 "It is ordered that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children, as shall resort to him, to write

and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by their parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns.

"In 1700 the State of Connecticut enacted its system of public instruction, which embraced the following as its first obligation:—An obligation on every parent and guardian of children, "not to suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as have a single child or apprentice unable to read the holy word of God, and the good laws of the colony;" and also, "To bring them up to some lawful calling or employment under a penalty for each offence."

We are about two centuries behind, and just beginning to realize the above obligation. "In 1665 in the State of Massachusetts, every town had a free school, and, if it contained over one hundred families, a grammar school, the support of schools was made compulsory, and education universal and free." Such was the policy of the men of the people who sought these Northern shores that they might establish and enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

"Far different was the policy of the aristocratic element with which Virginia was cursed. Twenty years after the establishment of free schools by law in New England Sir William Berkeley, governer of Virginia, wrote:—"I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." Even in the early part of the eighteenth century, says Sir Charles Lyell, "there was not one bookshop in Virginia, and no printing presses," though "there were several in Boston, with no less than five printing offices, a fact which reflects the more credit on the Puritans, because at the same period (1724) there were no less than thirty-four counties in the mother country,

Lancashire being one of the number, in which there was no printer."

"Thus are the ideas and methods of democracy and aristocracy contrasted. The former is ever seeking the education of the masses; the latter from its very nature is ever seeking to restrain education to the few, well knowing that privilege dies as knowledge spreads. It was death to teach a slave to read. The instinct which led the slave-holder to keep his slave in ignorance was a true one. Educate man and his shackles fall. Free Education may be trusted to burst every obstruction which stands in the path of the democracy towards its goal, the equality of the citizen, and this it will reach quietly and without violence, as the swelling sapling in its growth breaks its guards." "'Ballots not Bullets' is the motto of educated republicanism, and 'Obedience to Law' its fundamental requirement." (CARNEGIE.)"

As regards the progress made in America the last fifty years, in education, it is difficult to ascertain the exact condition in 1830. But from the contemporary writers Mr. Carnegie estimates that in 1831 the proportion of school children to the population in America was fifteen per cent., or double the European average, and second only to that of Prussia. It would have been as high as twenty-two per cent. (much beyond the Prussian average), but for the Slave States, where the negro slaves were not educated. The position of America in regard to reading and writing in 1880 is this: out of thirty-six and three-quarter million persons of ten years of age and over, nearly five million, or thirteen per cent., are unable to read, and six million and a quarter, or seventeen per cent., are unable to write. . . . . For every thousand inhabitants who could not read in 1870 there were but eight hundred and fifty-three in 1880, and for every thousand who could not write in 1870 there were but eight hundred and twenty-six who could not do so in 1880. The illiterate are mostly in the Southern States. Throughout the whole North, where the mass of the people reside, it may be said that the native born American, male and female, can read and write; for the per centage returned as unable to do so does not

exceed an average of five per cent. Five persons in every hundred, most of whom, no doubt, are mentally incapacitated from instruction.

"The people who cannot be induced to make the salaries of officials half as large as those of the officials of the petty powers of Europe, nevertheless urge their representatives to vote millions upon millions for educational purposes. The ratio of money spent on the army to that spent on education is in startling contrast to that of Europe. Great Britain does not spend one fourth as much, France not one eleventh, or Russia one thirty-third as much on education as on the army. . . . . Thus for every pound spent by Great Britain for the education of her people more than four pounds are squandered upon the army and navy. The Republic reverses this practice, and spends nearly two pounds upon education for every one spent for war.

Truly has Longfellow written :—

> "Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
> Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
> Given to redeem the human mind from error,
> There were no need of arsenals nor forts.
> The warriors name would be a name abhorred!
> And every nation that should lift again
> Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
> Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain."

"The moral to be drawn from America by every nation is this: "Seek ye first the education of the people and all other political blessings will be added unto you." The quarrels of party, the game of politics, this or that measure of reform, are but surface affairs of little moment. The education of the people is the real underlying work for earnest men who would best serve their country. In this the most creditable work of all, it cannot be denied that the Republic occupies the first place.

"It is, and ever has been with all Americans, as with Jefferson: "A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest so shall it be the latest, of all the public concerns in which I

shall permit myself to take an interest." Here speaks the inspired voice of triumphant Democracy, which holds as its first duty the universal education of the people. Of all its boasts, of all its triumphs, this is at once its proudest and its best. We say to the old Monarchies of the world: "Behold Democracy produces as its natural fruit an educated people." (CARNEGIE.)

As regards 'Pauperism and Crime,' the Republic I think has beaten the Monarchy in the acting up to the wise philosophy and philanthropy of the following quotation:—"The poor ye have always with you, and the criminal classes as well, but the poor can be made few and the criminals less vicious by proper treatment upon the part of the State. No test of the place a State occupies in civilization is surer than the lightness of its punishments and the care taken of its poor. A pitying spirit towards these unfortunate classes, and not that represented by the grim authority of the law, is that which in the end lessens crime and pauperism, and best befits an educated community; for the end of all punishment and that alone which justifies it is not the vindication of the outraged law but the desired amendment of the offender." *(Thoughts of the Sages.)*

In drawing a comparison between pauperism and crime under Democracy and Monarchy, we must remember the large number of poor immigrants. According to the books and periodicals, half a century ago America was comparatively free from beggars and paupers. A writer in De Bow's Commercial Magazine at this period said:—"Throughout the greater part of Virginia and Kentucky pauperism is almost unknown. I passed some time ago the poor house of Campbell County, Kentucky, and there was not a solitary inmate. And I have known a populous county in Virginia to have but one." And, during a prolonged tour through the States by Captain Alexander, of the British Army, in 1832, "only one beggar was seen." The Philadelphia *National Gazette* stated in 1834 that "an active and intelligent guardian of the poor in that city has declared, that the support of our own poor would be an insignificant charge, and that *more than three-fourths* of the paupers in the almshouse are exported from Europe

Sometimes a whole family will come almost direct from the ship to the almshouse.

"But poverty was not the only charge brought against foreigners; they formed a large proportion of the criminal class. They criminal statistics of early censuses are so incomplete as to be untrustworthy; but Mulhall's statement of present facts also represents the case in the past. He says: "It is remarkable that although foreigners compose but one-seventh of the population, they supply fourteen thousand offenders, or thirty per cent., of the total."

"The proportion of paupers to total population is less in the United States than in any other country. Indeed, the difference is so great as to be almost incredible. Britain has a pauper army of more than a million, or one pauper to every thirty-four persons. America with her greater population has only a quarter of a million, or one pauper in every 200 of her inhabitants. . . . . Thus it appears that for every pauper in the United States, there are twenty-one paupers in Holland and Belgium, and six in the United Kingdom."

What is the cause? Why have we six paupers to one in the Republic? Because "the recipients of relief in America have not been taught to look always to the State for pecuniary help;" and there exists there, what is wanted urgently here, "the union of public and private charity," bureaus of charity for the private distribution, and, when possible, to find work for the indigent, instead of giving them money. Our paupers will increase if we don't check the opinion that is gaining ground, that the unemployed have a right to expect work from the Government, and to demand charity, as a right instead of as a favour. If paupers have their rights at the hands of the Government, so have the industrious and prudent, who ought to be protected against the exactions of the idle and improvident. The new country has an advantage over the old that her people are composed of the hardy, as only the sound and vigorous emigrate, the weaker or more defective in vigour and energy remain at home. For example, while in the United States there is only one blind person in two thousand seven hundred and twenty inhabitants, and one

deaf and dumb among two thousand and ninety-four, in Ireland the proportion is one blind in eight hundred and ninety-four, and one deaf and dumb in one thousand three hundred and forty. The Republic is very good in her relief of the really deserving by private charity. There are fifty-six institutions for deaf and dumb persons, thirty institutions for the blind, and thirteen schools for feeble-minded children.

However, there is the fact for us to consider, with an increasing number of discontented poor gradually increasing in our midst, something must be done to prevent the scenes of riot of 1887, causing a stoppage to business, the interference with the workers, by the unemployed and others. Mr. Carnegie claims that "America exhibits not only the least poverty, but also the best system of alleviating it. More than half the distressed within her borders are relieved by voluntary charity; and this is ever encroaching on the fields of State charity. It is a decided gain to the world when compulsory charity, such as annually forces ten millions sterling from the pockets of the British taxpayer, is replaced by the charity which blesses equally him who gives and him who takes; and this is a change which is rapidly taking place in America. It may safely be predicted, that with the growing self-dependence which republican institutions foster, State charities will be substantially restricted to such as have reached beggary through gross misconduct."

The Republican system you will perceive is the very antithesis of ours, and, as I have no faith in any help but that which causes self-help, it seems to me that to check pauperism we must entirely alter our system, and follow that of the Republic,—more especially as there can be no doubt that want is a great cause of crime; cheap food is accompanied by a diminution of crime, therefore reduce the number of paupers, you will reduce at the same time the number of criminals. Accordingly, we find that offences against property are fewer proportionately in the United States than in European countries.

Half a century ago America rivalled us in her barbarous and inhuman treatment of criminals. "Before 1830 little or nothing

had been done to effect a distinction or even a separation in jail between children and adult criminals. The result of unrestricted intercourse between them may be imagined. The boy guilty of a first offence was lost; the veteran in crime became his hero, and he only longed for discharge that he might emulate his exploits. Young girls in like manner were confined with the most hardened women, with similar results. Strange, as it may seem to my readers of to-day, it was not till 1824 that the first reformatory, the New York House of Refuge, was built. Its influence for good was felt at once; and others were soon established, and in 1874, just fifty years after the initiation of the movement, there were thirty-four reformatories in the country, valued at nearly eight million dollars. The average number of inmates was eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-four; while up to that date no fewer than ninety-one thousand four hundred and two boys and girls had been received, and nearly seventy thousand were reported as permanently reformed, saved!"

"These useful institutions are an immense advance on the prisons which preceded them. The youth is no longer confined with the mature criminal; the sexes also are separated; and at night as a general practice, there is but one child in each cell, or, if in a large dormitory, the children are carefully watched, to prevent evil communications. They are all taught useful trades, and have regular day instruction in schools, besides religious teaching on Sunday. After their term of sentence has expired, or previously if their good conduct permit, they are indentured with worthy and respected farmers and mechanics.

"Numerous societies exist in the large cities for the care of destitute children: the best known being the Children's Aid Society of New York, the growth and success of which have been remarkable. It began its labours in 1853, and has provided more than thirty thousand homeless children with homes and work in the country. Its lodging-houses shelter an average of six hundred per night. Its industrial and night schools educate, and partly feed and clothe, more than ten thousand children per year. Its great aim is to save the vagrant, homeless, and semi-criminal

children of the city by drawing them to places of shelter and instruction, and finally transferring them to selected homes in the country, there being an almost unlimited demand for children's labour in this country. The results of these efforts is startling. The commitments for vagrancy in New York city fell from two thousand one hundred and sixty-one in 1861, to nine hundred and fourteen in 1871; and of young girls for petty stealing, from one thousand one hundred and thirty-three in 1860, to five hundred and seventy-two in 1871: the population having increased in the interval seventeen per cent. Here is the true point at which to grapple with the difficulty—right in the beginning, before the innocent child learns the ways of its elder associates.

"America has not been backward in applying modern ideas in the treatment of prisoners. Her penitentiaries now compare favourably with those of other nations, while no nation probably has gone so far in substituting mild for severe punishments. Repugnance to the death penalty is so strong that it has been abolished in several of the States. The large State prisons keep their prisoners steadily at work together during the day, and separate them in the cells at night. . . . Many of the prisons are self-supporting, or nearly so; while that of Ohio yields an annual profit to the State. . . . No cruel or degrading punishments are employed, and no distinctive prison clothing is worn. . . . Teachers and chaplains are appointed for prisons, libraries provided,—and in short these institutions are conducted upon the idea that it is not so important to punish the offender for what he has done, as to improve him, so that he will not be likely to break the laws again. In no department of human effort has a greater change been made for the better in America than in the treatment of the vagrant and criminal classes. How to punish the ignorant and misguided offender is not so eagerly discussed as how to prevent his growing up in ignorance and sin, and thus becoming an offender; nor does the question, How to punish the criminal, rank with the much more important query how he can be reformed. This is the first consideration; and he is surrounded

with libraries, teachers, and chaplains, to save him as much as possible from vile associates during his prison life, and save him if possible from himself.

"The civilization of a people may be tested by the character of their punishments. The milder these are, the more civilised the nation: as that home is to be rated highest in all the land, in which the mildest system of parental government prevails, in which reproof takes its gentlest form, and yet suffices. Judged by this standard, Democracy stands the test well.

"The advance made in agriculture and cattle-raising during the last half century has been prodigious; and much of it is due either to the creation by American inventive genius of mechanical appliances, or to enforced European inventiveness resulting from American competition. From the earliest times, American statesmen have directed their energies to the advancement of agricultural arts. Washington, with a burden of care such as has been the lot of few, found time to superintend agricultural operations and experiments. . . . . Beginning thus early, the advancement of agriculture has continued to be the first care of American statesmen and the American people, with the result that the Republic leads the world to-day not only in amount of agricultural products but in excellence of agricultural methods."

Mr. Carnegie then gives statistics to prove that the "tendency is towards smaller rather than larger farms, notwithstanding the gigantic holdings which have been the fashion in recent years in some of the North-Western States. The average farm has fallen in size from two hundred and three acres in 1850 to one hundred and thirty-five acres in 1880. As this result has been reached under a system of absolute freedom, we are justified in assuming that the cultivation of holdings small enough to be worked by one family, without employing help, is found to be the condition best fitted for survival. . . . This is most cheering news; for it is manifestly better for the State, that a race of citizens—each his own master and landlord—should inhabit the land and call a small portion of it his own, than that one man should be lord over thousands of acres and over hundreds of farm labourers. . . .

The State is still to rest in security upon millions who possess and cultivate the soil divided into small farms. Such citizens are the very life-blood of the Republic. . . . Statistics are then given to corroborate the current belief that the majority of farms in America are cultivated by their own owners,—nearly three millions of the four million farms being of this class. . . . There is no law of primogeniture or of entail in America, and the transfer of land is scarcely (if any) more difficult than the sale or purchase of a house." (CARNEGIE.)

As regards the cost of transfer, the price of land, and the class that owns the land, the Monarchy appears at a great disadvantage. It will be said that you may get a farm now at your own price or rent. True: but it is after the high rents, tithes, etc., had ruined the class that held the farms. Again, judging by the management of the great estates in town, what security has any tenant to justify his expenditure of capital or skill in improving the land, whilst our land system ignores the right of leaseholders and tenants, and justifies the landowner in appropriating the results of other men's capital, skill, and industry. We want no favour, but we want 'equity,' and the farmer and tradesman must no longer be deprived of the benefits accruing from their own enterprise. We want here the law passed in Pennsylvania in 1865, called the 'Price Act,' by which "all ground rents were made redeemable, and unredeemable ground rents cancelled. Thus an owner of land granted a ground lease for, say, 10,000 dollars, the State rate of interest (6 per cent.) was paid by the tenant. The tenant then built either with his own money or borrowed; he paid interest to the lender—perhaps some building society—and he paid ground rent to the owner of the land. Moreover, he tendered part of the 10,000 dollars to the landowner, he paid the 6 per cent. on the balance, but he might hold that land for ever so long as he paid the 6 per cent., the landlord could not turn him out. The property was registered by the State, and no trouble was given about title. If he failed to pay the lender of the money which enabled him to build, he might lose the property: the lender would in such a case take

over the property and pay the ground rent. Now, with us, the landlord gets this unearned increment: at the end of the building lease he charges a rental, not only for the land, but for all that has been placed upon it, plus the goodwill of the business attached to the spot, all done by others at no cost to himself." (*Sunday Times*, May 6, 1888.)

"We now come to the great southern staple, King Cotton. An ancient and honourable potentate, truly; for does not Herodotus tell us 450 B.C. that the Indians were then weaving it into cloth? and did not Cæsar cover the Forum and the Sacred Way, too, with awnings of cotton to shade the dignitaries of the Imperial City from the rays of the sun? In 1621 the first cotton was planted in America. It did not take kindly to the climate. Many experiments failed, although repeated at different times and at various places; and more than a hundred and fifty-seven years elapsed before a pound of cotton was exported. . . . After Independence (1776), cotton began to attract special atteention. Whitney's gin, for separating the seeds from the fibre, removed the only obstacle to its almost unlimited production. A tariff upon the importation of cotton goods led to the manufacture of cloth at home, and cotton cultivatton received a further impetus, America soon became the leading source of supply for the world. Not to go back further than half a century, we find that in 1830 nine hundred and seventy-six thousand eight hundred and forty-five bales were grown; in 1880, the crop was five million seven hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and ninety-seven bales, valued at £55,000,000. Of the 1830 crop, £6,000,000 worth was exported; of the 1880 crop, £44,000,000, of which England took nearly two-thirds. The latter, however, included manufactured cotton, of which in 1830 there was none; so that the value of the cotton exported exceeded that of wheat by £6,000,000.

"The steady nature of the progress of American manufactures is indicated by the ever-increasing ratio of manufactures to population. This is shown by MULHALL as follows:—

			Product [illegible]	
1830	£1	8	0	[illegible]
1840	5	7	0	[illegible]

An increase of more than [illegible] in fifty years.

"It is interesting to note that [illegible] densely settled, the [illegible] culture increased. In [illegible] was only eight per cent. of that [illegible] thirteen per cent.; in [illegible] reached twenty-three per cent. [illegible] culture. In 1870 the value of [illegible] that of raw materials, was [illegible] agricultural products, while [illegible] eighty-nine per cent. So that [illegible] in America has been—and the [illegible] like,—that of manufactures [illegible] in this book will [illegible] young Republic—and [illegible] manufacturing nation of the [illegible] with being great only [illegible] It is a statement that surprises [illegible] worsteds, carpets, [illegible] most extraordinary [illegible] find that more [illegible] the city of Philadelphia [illegible] Reflect for a moment what [illegible] difference it means [illegible] us. "It is not twenty years [illegible] carpets, and now [illegible] European manufacturing [illegible] this? How is it we have [illegible] race?—there must be a cause [illegible] more in earnest—take a [illegible] dignified. [illegible] duction o[illegible]

employment for, and directing labour. Here, to work is derogatory; our rich men want to become aristocrats; if the fathers do not, the sons of our rich men join the 'idle rich,' and have a contempt for those who lead useful lives of labour.

What a wonderful success the Republic has achieved in another branch of manufacture—that of watches. "It is not very long since every watch carried by the American was imported. To-day America exports watches largely to most foreign countries, and especially to Europe. These indispensable articles were formerly made by hand in small factories. Switzerland, that land of cheap labour, was the principal seat of the manufacture. Thirty-five years ago the Americans conceived the idea of making watches by machinery upon a gigantic scale. The principal establishment made only five watches per day as late as 1854. Now, thirteen hundred per day is the daily task, and six thousand watches per month are sent to the London agency. Three other similar establishments, conducted upon the same general plan, are kept busily employed. In short, the Republic is now the world's watchmaker. Notwithstanding the fact that labour is paid more than double that of Europe, the immense product, the superior skill of the workman, and the numerous American inventions connected with the business, enable the Republic to outstrip all his rivals. It will soon be so with all articles which can be made of one pattern in great numbers, for in such cases the enormous home market of the American takes so much more of any article than the home market of any other manufacturer, that he is enabled to carry on the business upon a gigantic scale, and dispose of his surplus abroad. In confirmation of this now let us take the manufacture of thread, for which the two Scotch firms at Paisley, Scotland, are so justly celebrated.

"The pioneer firm began operations in Paisley in 1798: the other followed in 1820. They began to manufacture in the United States in 1866 and 1869—*not twenty years ago*. Yet their combined capital in works upon this side already about equals their capital in Paisley, the product of sixty years growth. In other words, twenty years in the Republic has equalled sixty in

Scotland. In twenty years more, Clark's & Coat's will, in all probability, consider their original home works in dear old Monarchical Paisley as but a branch of the main stem in the great Republic. . . In Mr. Pidgeon's clever book, 'Old World Questions and New World Answers,' which is upon the whole the best book of its kind that I know of, we find the author unerringly placing his finger upon the one secret of the Republic's success, viz., the respect in which labour is held. If I wished to indicate one of the sharpest contrasts between men in the world—and few will deny my right to judge here,—I shall say that which exists between the artizan in Monarchical Britain and Republican America." (CARNEGIE.)

The great distinction between the Republic and the Monarchy —the one that it seems to me we should at once make every effort to remove—is the recognition of the dignity of labour in the one, and the exaltation of the man who labours not in the other. For a commercial nation like Great Britain it is imperative if she is to hold her own in the struggle with the Republic, that she exalts the worker and degrades the drone. If you want to raise the self-respect of your people, elevate their conception of the value of their work, raise their occupation in their mind, try to arouse within them a desire to excel therein, and so keep active an earnestness of purpose to do their work in such a manner as will satisfy their self-respect. How have we tried to keep alive this self-respect on the part of workers—by regarding with contempt the man who must work to live? By the idle rich refusing to mix with or let their chilnren go to school with the children of tradesmen. This class prejudice will swamp us unless we boldly grasp it, and crush its deadly influence. Our object must be to so elevate and dignify labour, that we enlist as workers the best intellects and men of the highest culture the nation posesses. The men for Englishmen to honour, are the men who bring out new inventions, the men who produce new fabrics, open out new fields for the distribution of our manufactures, briefly, the men who obtain work for the people, we must have an aristocracy of labour.

"If you found a State upon the monarchical idea which necessarily carries with it an aristocracy, by so much more as you exalt this royal family and aristocracy you inevitably degrade all who are not of these classes. That is clear. If at the pinnacle you place people who are exempt from honest labour for recompense whether such labour be such as that rendered by ministers, physicians, lawyers, teachers, or other professional men, or tradesmen or mechanics; if you create a court from which people in trade or artizans are excluded; if you support a monarch who declines to have one in trade presented to her even at a State reception, thus entailing upon honest labour the grossest insult, what can be the result of the system but a community in which the dignity of labour has not only no place but one in which, as in Britain, labour is actually looked down upon. This is the very essence of the Monarchical idea."

Mr. Carnegie here has undoubtedly hit upon the greatest defect of our system, we depend upon labour, not only the artizans and workers, but the whole army of workers from the commander-in-chief to the private, are essential to our very existence as a nation; yet our system is one which exalts the non-producing class, the idlers and drones, who are trained to treat as beings of another order, a distinct species to themselves, those who lead useful lives of labour—if wise, before it is too late, we shall reverse this—and value men by what they do, and not by their hereditary titles and possessions. "Who knows or cares who Michael Angelo's father was, or what was Beethoven's birth, or whether Raphael was an aristocrat, or Wagner the son of a poor actuary of police?" These men, like Liszt, Rubenstein, Glück, Millais, Leighton, Benedict, Sullivan, rule by virtue of their genius over the hearts of their fellow men. So it should be in all things, merit the only claim to distinction, the being superior in something to other men. All truly great men are workers, we must train our people to have a greater respect for labour, it will be a good sign for the future of England when:—"Labour is discovered to be the grand conqueror, enriching and building up nations more surely than the greatest battles." (CHANNING.)

FIFTY YEARS OF MONARCHY.

"All nations have their message from on high,
Each the messial of some central thought.
For the fulfilment and delight of man:
One has to teach that labour is divine." LOWELL.

This has been the doctrine I have always preached. The dignity of labour, that labour is a blessing, and not a curse. We have made great progress the last fifty years, and if the Republic has made greater, after allowing for her greater opportunities, the cause may be traced to the fact that her principal men, her wealthiest citizens, all work, whereas here we have such a lot of drones, and the workers sucked and bled by sinecurists, and more especially by the landowner, owing to that relic of the feudal system which gave to the owner of the land all that was put on the land—a system ruinous to our present state of development—a system that puts a millstone round the neck of the manufacturing and trading classes, and absorbs too much of the earnings of the labouring masses, for the use of their dwellings; a system that is really a 'tax' upon the industrious, to give extra income to the non-producer. As economy in production and distribution is now essential, from the keenness of competition with America and Germany, to hold our own we must get rid of this obsolete system. 'Equity' must supplant 'Law' in deciding about the landowners rights. The men who work must be the aristocracy of the future; the drones who lead a life of elegant leisure must cease to be honoured.

I thank God the days of 'Divine rights' Royal prerogatives, and 'aristocratic privileges' are numbered; if a man would eat he must work, to reap you must first sow, is emphatically the doctrine necessity will preach henceforth. We must not be above being taught, and the New Country teaches the Old Country a lesson. 'All must work.' "The Republic to-day is, as it ever was, a nation of workers. The idlers are few—much

fewer than in any other great nation. A continent lies before the American, awaiting development. The rewards of labour are high; and prizes are to be won in every pursuit. The family which strikes out boldly for the West, settles upon the soil and expends its labour upon it—may confidently look forward to reach independent circumstances long before old age. The mechanic with skill and energy rises first to foremanship and ultimately to a partnership or business of his own. As the country fills, these prizes naturally become more and more difficult to secure; but the very knowledge of this acts as an additional incentive, and impels men to "make hay while the sun shines."

"The American works much harder than the Briton. His application is greater; his hours are longer; his holidays fewer. Until recently, a leisure class has scarcely been known, and even now a man who is not engaged in some useful occupation lacks all claim to the respect of his fellows. The American must do something, even if disposed to be idle; he is forced to join the army of toilers from sheer impossibility to find suitable companions for idle hours. One conversant with the mother and child lands is particularly struck with the difference between Britons and Americans in this regard. If a party of educated and agreeable gentlemen are wanted to join in a pleasure excursion, twenty are available in Britain to one in this high pressure America. The American has always so much to do. Even when the family leaves home in the summer, the man returns to town every few days to hammer away at something. The English gentleman, on the contrary, seems always to have a few days he can call his own for pleasure. Ladies are equally available upon both sides of the ferry. The American woman seems to have quite as much leisure as her English sister. I must not fail to note, however, the signs of change which begin to appear. A small number of the best men of this generation, especially in the Eastern cities, having inherited fortunes, now devote themselves to public cares, not necessarily political, as a Briton would infer, and discard the lower ambition of adding more to that which is

enough. The roughest and most pressing work, that of clearing and settling the land, has been done to a great extent; and the influences of refinement and elevation are now patent everywhere. It is thus that a free society evolves that which is fitted for its highest ends." CARNEGIE.

Taken collectively, I think we must admit that we lack the thorough earnestness which characterises the American. Our self-made men, the foremost men in every profession favourably compare, but as a whole our people lack the thoroughness that is the principal ingredient in the Americans, and accounts for much of their unparalleled progress. However it is satisfactory to know that "The progress made by the United Kingdom during the last fifty years is wholly unprecedented in our annals, and has not been approached by any other nation of Europe. . . . The only item which shews a positive decline is agriculture, which is 6 per cent. lower than it was 50 years ago, and in reference to population is 33 per cent. lower. When we proceed to study the several items in detail we shall find some other facts of more or less importance, such as these: The national debt has been reduced 7 per cent., food supply per inhabitant has improved 60 per cent., the ratio of paupers to population has declined more than half, the criminal records shew a diminution of 71 per cent., and the result of sanitary improvements has been to lengthen the span of life by three years, say 6 per cent." MULHALL.

The figures I am about to quote from "Fifty Years of National Progress" by M. G. Mulhall may seem to differ from those quoted from Mr. Carnegie's "Triumphant Democracy." The reason is, that Mr. Carnegie's statistics are from 1830 to 1882, and Mr. Mulhall's from 1837 to 1886.

POPULATION. "In fifty years the population of the United Kingdom has risen from twenty-six to thirty-seven millions." Mr. Mulhall then points out an important factor in drawing a comparison between the Monarchy and the Republic. In the latter the population is increased by immigrants flowing thereto, in the former it is decreased by the emigrants going therefrom. Against England's increase of ten millions, Mr. Carnegie contrasts America's in-

crease of 37 millions in fifty years; but if we take the *real increase* of population the difference will be very materially altered. Mr. Mulhall gives the gross increase from 1837-87 at 20,173,000, reduced to 11,072,000, by 9,101,000 having gone to try their fortunes abroad. As 5,902,000 of our emigrants went to the United States, to make a fair comparison of the increase in the population of the Monarchy and the Republic, the Monarchy has increased in the 50 years the twenty millions, the Republic 31 millions, or at the rate of 3 to 2, and not $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 as Mr. Carnegie's figures would lead us to infer.

The real point for those men who wish for the good of the state, is the fact that nearly half the increase in our population is lost to us. We have the trouble and expense of rearing them, and America gets the value of their labour. If the emigration was due solely to the fact that it is impossible to maintain our population, we should be thankful that America can receive them, and that it has been to their mutual benefit. "If a kind and liberal policy had been adopted towards the emigrants, we should have secured the bulk of them for our Colonies, where the system of homestead-grants, so happily initiated by the United States, could have been applied to Crown lands, instead of letting them to squatters at a shilling per square mile. Our Government seemed glad to get rid of the emigrants. Most of those who went to the United States were Irish, the bulk of whom went westward to open up the new Territories. In 30 years down to 1880 the aggregate wealth of 11 western states multiplied $12\frac{1}{2}$ times, showing an increase of 2,654 millions sterling: at least one fourth of this amount, or a sum about equal to our National Debt was the result of the industry of Irish Settlers. The United States' Government valued them at £200 per head, whereas we regarded emigrants as a nuisance. The components of our emigration since 1837 have been

Irish	4,786,000
English ...	4,045,000
Scotch ...	870,000
Total ...	9,101,000

What has driven these people from amongst us? Is it want of scope for the most intelligent and most persevering of our people; or is it the faults incidental to our Monarchical rule, and the land system that is supported by it? That the land system and bad government has depopulated Ireland there can be no doubt; the English part will be made up of the discontented, the men who have not got on here, and those who thought there was a better opening for them in the new world; the Scotch are an enterprizing people and failing possibility of advancement here have gone elsewhere. This should be the reason for emigration, and although I used to think that a man could do as well here as anywhere; and have said with many others that if a man failed, the fault was not in his country, but in himself, I frankly admit that were I at the beginning instead of the end of my career I would not stop a day longer where men have to slave to pay high rents, the result of a most inequitable system; high rates and taxes the result of costly wars and perpetual pensions; under a legal system the most uncertain, dilatory, and costly; with a caste feeling, so strong that it makes it a hideous mockery to be talking about all men being brothers from the pulpit. I should go to the Republic or our Colonies and fight the struggle of life out there. You will of course, reader, take my opinion for what it is worth, but if you are a father with children, think seriously of the future before them here. It is a frightful struggle for life. Not for the so-called working classes: there is plenty of work here still for all skilled artizans, Tailors, Shoemakers, and producers, I am alluding to that large class—the distributing class. Twenty years ago a man with energy and intelligence had a chance to get onwards, he began life with the idea of independence before him—he is satisfied now if he can pay his way and get a living—those who have succeeded have perhaps invested their money in houses, their hard earned savings are represented by their Ware houses or buildings, and here comes in the curse of our Monarchical system, which allows the landowner, the non producer, the man who has done nothing, to take the result that has accrued from the other man's life of toil and self-denial. It is a

cursed system and one that will sink the vessel 'Monarchy' in time unless justice be done between the two contracting parties. The land system has ruined Ireland; Justice was introduced there *too late*; let us hope our rulers will be wiser here.

The 'Water Rate' is another most iniquitous tax. Can any man give a reason why Water Companies should be paid according to the value of the house, instead of in proportion to the water they supply? As the landowner takes the house without paying for it, so the Water Company charges for water they do not supply. In proof of this statement I submit the following figures:—"In 1700 the dividend upon the new River Company's shares was £201 16s. 6d. per share; in 1810 they reached £522 9s. od. Then large sums of money were expended in substituting iron pipes for the old wooden ones, and in putting down costly machinery; and for a time the dividends fell off. In 1833 they were, however, at £615 15s. 5¼d. In 1840 they reached £878. In 1855 they were £846. In 1870 they had risen to £1,565, and in 1886 they touched the enormous sum of £2,610 per share (Barker's Trade and Finance, Nov. 2nd, 1887). I put it to the common-sense of anyone: have the dividends of the New River Company risen from £1,565 to £2,610 in sixteen years because they have nearly doubled their business, or is it because they are now, owing to an Act of Parliament, being paid nearly double what they used to have, or ought to have, for what they supply? If it be a fact that their net profits have been nearly doubled by an Act of Parliament, then the public should insist upon the Act being repealed—the sooner the better. Of course we shall be told it is confiscation, and no doubt it would be hard on those who have bought since 1870; but if the increased value only arises from the action of an unwise Act of Parliament, I fail to see why the public should continue to pay 'double what an article is worth for an error in legislation.' To prove the doubling of the income, I have given the increased dividends which has doubled the selling price of the shares. At the beginning of the century an adventurer's share fetched about £10,000; in 1858, £19,600; in 1870, £40,400; in 1886, £84,000." How

the shareholders must bless our sapient legislators—without an effort on their part 'Capital and income doubled by Act of Parliament.' But do not forget that if a landlord gets £8,000 when the reversion falls in instead of £250; or a shareholder in the New River Company gets his capital and income doubled in both cases you will find that 'Paul can only be benefitted by robbing Peter.'

There is another point. When we submit that the State should interfere and stop a landowner taking advantage of a tenant when he has to renew his lease—they refuse because of the sacredness of 'Freedom of Contract.' If it is wrong to interfere between landlord and tenant, how can it be right to interfere between the Water Company and the occupier of a house? By their own reasoning, what right had the Legislature to double the charge for the supply of water by Act of Parliament. We are told that there is much corruption in Republics, there may be less corruption under the Monarchy; but we lack the men with moral courage to expose and unflinchingly persist in ridding the State of these iniquities. Instead of getting rid of our own imperfections we want to stop foreign competition and the employment of foreigners here. Read our history: what is the lesson it teaches, that our progress is mainly due to the intelligent men who have had to take refuge on our shores, and who have returned us one hundredfold for the hospitality they received.

The Jews set us in the olden times the best example of money making, and had rendered us many and great services in commerce—yet we hated them, and Edward the First, August 1, 1290, at the request of Pope Honorius, issued an edict expelling the whole race from England. Oliver Cromwell was the first to publicly sanction their return, and many of them came and settled here during the commonwealth. For nearly two centuries they have had liberty of residence in England, and the old civil and religious disabilities, relics of the persecuting and intolerant past, have been abolished. They are very useful to us, because as Addison says:—"The whole people is now a race of such merchants as are wanderers by profession. They are, indeed, so disseminated

through all the trading parts of the world, that they are become the instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another, and by which mankind are knit together in a general correspondence. They are like the pegs and nails in a great building, which, though they are but little valued in themselves, are absolutely necessary to keep the whole frame together."

Garden economy, still insufficiently practised in England, was a thing almost unknown in these islands until the Flemish colonists, who came in frequent tides under the Plantagenets, and most abundantly in Queen Elizabeth's reign—set our forefathers a good example of thrift and tact. During the middle ages, even a common cabbage was a present fit for a king, only to be obtained through the intervention of some friend trading with the Low Countries. The Flemish and Dutch refugees, however, who fled to England from Philip II.'s persecutions, brought their habits with them, and carrots, celery, and a dozen other vegetables, as well as cabbage, first grown in the neat little gardens that they planted in Kent, Norfolk, and various parts of the country, were by them established as common articles of food. . . . In 1524, Flemish Emigrants, settling in Kent, began to cultivate hops in their gardens. Kentish hops, however, soon became famous, and very quickly grew into favour with the people.

"During the middle ages the best clothing came from Flanders, whither England sent its wool to take back so much of it as was required in a more available shape. . . . It was not till near the period of Queen Elizabeth that woollen manufacture became important, and then the change was, to a great extent, due to the settlement of Flemish Protestants in England, who brought with them their skill in weaving and the other branches of cloth-making. . . . Linen was brought from abroad, until Flemish and Huguenot refugees in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, brought their skill with them to England, and flax-spinning began to be considerable in our island. . . . The manufacture of cotton made little progress here until 1676, when the Huguenot exiles began to follow their allings in London and other towns on the Thames, and that in

spite of opposition, which, in the end, helped to drive nearly all the trade from the South of England into the Lancashire district, in which it had been started. . . It was the French Protestant refugees, settling in Spitalfields and elsewhere, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, who enabled this country to make the first important advance upon the slight achievements of the old system of silk-weaving." *(The Romance of Trade,* BOURNE.*)*

The Romance teaches us a lesson—it proves that 'as we sow, we shall reap.' What would England be now without these great manufactures which enable us to get the necessaries of life for our people? We acted towards those driven to us for shelter as 'we would that others should do to us, similarly situated,' and we have been amply repaid. The subject is one of such great importance that I have felt justified in making this digression, that English people will be true to their past, and refuse under any circumstances to drive away or interfere with anyone coming to our shores to earn their living.

WEALTH.—"The increase of wealth has been 124 per cent., or three times greater than that of population. The public fortune has risen from 4,100 to 9,210 millions sterling, being at present about £250 per inhabitant, or £100 more than in 1840. The average annual accumulation was 73 millions before 1860, 134 millions after that year. In a word, the ordinary accumulation is 150 millions yearly, or almost half a million daily. The latest classification of the Probate Court returns is that of 1877, which compares with that made in 1840 as follows:—

	Number.		Ratio to Deaths of 100 Male Adults.	
	1840.	1877.	1840.	1877.
Fortunes over £5,000 ..	1,989	4,478	1·7	3·4
„ £100 to £5,000 ..	17,936	36,438	15·2	27·3
Total ..	19,925	40,916	16·9	30·7

Thus the monied classes grew 105 per cent. in 37 years, or four times faster than population; and whereas 17 per cent. of the people were above the reach of want in 1840, the ratio was almost

31 per cent. in 1877. It may be clearer to say that in 1840 there were 97,675 male adults who left no fortune or less than £100 at their death, and in 1877 the number was only 92,444, although population had increased 26 per cent. in the interval. In fine, the table of 1877 compared with that of 1840 shows that 14 per cent. of the people of the United Kingdom had been lifted from the indigent to the comfortable or affluent class.

"Another proof of the diffusion of wealth is afforded by the number of persons assessed by the Income Tax Commissioners as earning more than £200 per annum, viz.:—

Year.	Number Assessed.	Per 10,000 Inhabitants.
1850	65,389	23
1860	85,530	30
1870	130,375	42
1880	210,430	63
1886	250,000	70

"This shows that the affluent and middle classes have increased since 1850 no less than 270 per cent., or eight times faster than population, and just twice as fast as the aggregate earnings, the assessments to Income Tax having increased only 133 per cent., viz.:—

Year.	£ Millions.	£ per Inhabitant.
1850	274	10
1860	335	11
1870	445	14
1880	578	17
1885	631	18

"A third sign of the diffusion of wealth is the ratio of persons living in houses assessed at or over £20 a year, viz.:—

Year.	Houses over £20.	Ratio to all Houses per cent.
1840	244,300	5·4
1850	434,000	8·8
1860	519,200	9·6
1870	754,100	12·8
1880	1,002,,00	14·5

"The number of comfortable houses increased 310 per cent., or nine times faster than population.

"Finally, the savings of the working classes between Building and Provident Societies, and deposits in Savings Banks, show that the increase of wealth has been general:—

Year.	Millions £ Savings Banks.	Societies.	Total.
1840	25	5	30
1860	41	10	51
1875	67	20	87
1886	98	62	160

"The savings of operatives averaged one million yearly down to 1860, rising to two and a half millions in the subsequent period down to 1875, and in the last eleven years averaging seven millions." (MULHALL.)

SHIPPING.—Here we still reign supreme, except in yachts, where America is pre-eminent; and to hold our own we must recognize that it is imperative that we be "ever in advance," as America and Germany will strive to excel and beat us in shipping. Increase or decrease of trade or shipping depends upon cause and effect. At present we are ahead, and foreign shipping is losing ground. But "the tonnage of vessels entered and cleared shows that some ports of the United Kingdom are progressing much more rapidly than others. In the past ten years Liverpool has advanced 13, Newcastle 21, London 36, Glasgow 75, and Cardiff 150 per cent." Why is it that Glasgow and Cardiff have increased so much more than Liverpool, Newcastle, and London? There must be a reason, and those interested in the three last-named towns should ascertain the cause and remedy it. The following details from Mr. Mulhall's "Fifty Years of National Progress" will explain why we have made such progress in shipping, and that we take the lead, and I want you to understand can only maintain that lead by doing the shipping more economically than other nations. "Wonderful as has been the growth of our commerce during the present reign, it has been greatly surpassed by that of our shipping. There was a period of utter stagnation for twelve years after the Queen's Accession, until the repeal of the Navigation laws in 1849 opened a new era of prosperity. The following table shows the nominal tonnage

and the effective carrying power, the latter allowing steamers to count for five times their nominal register:—

Year.	Nominal Tonnage.	Steam ratio per cent.	Carrying Power in tons.	Tons per 100 Inhabitants.
1840	3,068,000	3	3,430,000	13
1850	3,137,000	3	3,555,000	13
1860	4,360,000	9	5,950,000	21
1870	5,691,000	19	10,090,000	32
1880	6'345,000	41	16,720,000	50
1885	7,210,000	54	22,770,000	63

"Steamers are rapidly taking the place of sailing vessels; in the last six years to December 1886, there has been an increase of 1,450,000 tons in our steamers, and a diminution of 560,000 tons in sailing vessels. The port entries of the world show that steamers make 15 trips, and sailing vessels only three trips, in twelve months. The introduction of steamers has caused a notable economy of hands, viz.:—

Year.	Tons Carried.	Seamen.	Tons per Seaman.
1850	14,110,000	151,430	93
1860	23,470,000	171,592	137
1871	42,923,000	199,738	215
1885	67,677,000	198,781	340

Thus three seamen now carry as much as five did in 1871 or eleven in 1850. At the latter ratio we should require 700,000 seamen to do our work; and as we save the wages, food, etc., of half a million men we are able to carry merchandize and passengers cheaper. There is no other flag whose sailors on the high seas carry 340 tons each per annum, the next highest ratio being 308 for America and 250 for France. Two remarkable features call for notice in the shipping returns of the ports of the United Kingdom since 1840. Firstly, the ratio of foreign vessels is declining, viz.:—

Year.	Entries and cleared, Tons. British.	Foreign.	Total.	Percentage. British.	Foreign.
1840	6,505,000	3,010,000	9,515,000	68	32
1850	9,412,000	5,100,000	14,512,000	65	35
1860	13,890,000	10,780,000	24,670,000	56	44
1875	30,940,000	15,330,000	46,270,000	67	33
1885	46,390,000	17,890,000	64,280,000	73	27

In the last ten years especially the advance of British shipping in our ports, and the corresponding decline of foreign flags, has been very marked. Secondly, the ratio of ballast entries and clearances is much higher with foreign than with British vessels:—

Year.	Ballast Entries and Cleared, Tons. British.	Foreign.	Ballast Ratio to Total. British.	Foreign.
			Per cent.	Per cent.
1840 ...	1,302,000	660,000 ...	20	22
1850 ...	1,411,000	1,120,000 ...	15	22
1860 ...	1,810,000	2,160,000 ...	13	20
1875 ...	3,640,000	3,190,000 ...	12	21
1885 ...	5,760,000	3,550,000 ...	12	20

"RAILWAYS at present constitute nearly one-tenth of the wealth of the kingdom, without including the capital invested in such enterprizes abroad. The growth of this form of industry in the United Kingdom is shewn thus:—

Years.	Miles.	Capital, Millions £.	Passengers, Millions.	Gross Earnings, Millions £.
1840 ...	840 ...	24 ...	18 ...	3
1850 ...	6,620 ...	240 ...	80 ...	13
1860 ...	10,430 ...	348 ...	180 ...	28
1870 ...	15,540 ...	530 ...	363 ...	43
1880 ...	17,930 ...	728 ...	664 ...	63
1885 ...	19,170 ...	816 ...	770 ...	67

Mileage earnings have in the last five years averaged £3,600 gross receipts per mile. Net proceeds are about 33 millions, giving a fraction over four per cent. on the paid-up capital.

"TRADE.—The expansion of our foreign trade during the present reign may be summed up in half a dozen lines, thus:—

Years.	Yearly Average Millions £. Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1837—40	56	59	115
1841—50	83	75	158
1851—60	153	121	274
1861—70	270	213	483
1871—80	371	278	649
1881—86	395	291	686

The highest year on record is 1883, when the gross trade reached 732 millions; since then there has been a decline, chiefly the result of a fall in prices. The price-levels have so much influence on the apparent increase or diminution of trade that it is important to compare them in periods of years thus :—

	British price-level.			Price-level of the world.		
Years.	Imports.	Exports.	General.	Agricultural.	Manufactures.	Total.
1841–50	100	100	100	100	100	100
1851–60	115	94	105	116	92	104
1861–70	130	121	125	121	100	111
1871–80	105	108	106	117	93	105
1881–84	85	90	87	111	76	94
1885	82	82	82	—	—	—

If we proceed to measure British commerce by the price-level of 1841-50 we shall see that its development has been much greater than is represented in the Board of Trade returns previously quoted. Had prices suffered no change after 1850 the imports and exports would have been as follows :—

	Millions £ yearly.		
Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1841-50	83	75	158
1851-60	133	129	262
1861-70	208	178	386
1871-80	353	257	610
1881-86	470	334	804

It appears that trade has really grown 5-fold since 1850, and not 4-fold as the Board of Trade figures would lead one to suppose. And as there are many indications of depression in business, which have caused incorrect and exaggerated notions, it may be well to give the actual trade returns for ten years, with the amounts that they would have been, had prices sustained no change. The following table does not include exports of foreign and colonial merchandise :—

[illegible] price-level

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1876	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5·67
1877	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5·74
1878	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5·44
1879	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4·94
1880	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4·94
1881	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4·93
1882	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4·93
1883	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4·93
1884	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4·93
1885	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10 Years	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The [illegible] was 3,91[illegible] had remained [illegible] for 2,1[illegible] millions. [illegible] prices of the [illegible] 62 millions. [illegible] is so often [illegible]

The following [illegible] various rates:—

With	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Colonies ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	36	24	24	27
United States	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	20	18	15	18
France ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	8	11	9
Germany ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	5	8	8
Various ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	33	41	42	38
Total ..	223	[illegible]	[illegible]	642	100	100	100	100

It appears that in the last 10 years the trade with our colonies (including India) has grown in much higher degree than with foreign countries.

* Including Exports of foreign [illegible]

To illustrate the preponderance of British commerce, the subjoined table shows the aggregate trade of various nations :—

	Millions £.	£ per inhabitant.
United Kingdom ..	642 ..	18
France	329 ..	9
Germany	329 ..	7
United States	275 ..	5
British Colonies ..	392 ..	—
Other Countries ..	1,363 ..	—
	3,330	

If the trade of the Colonies were added to that of the United Kingdom the amount would be almost one-third of the trade of the world.

"TEXTILE MANUFACTURES. — This branch of industry has trebled during the present reign, as appears from the consumption of fibre:—

	Millions of lbs. yearly.					Lbs. fibre per
Year.	Cotton.	Wool.	Flax and Hemp.	Jute.	Total.	Inhabitant.
1840	448	129	277	—	854	33
1850	565	158	371	42	1,136	42
1860	1,140	224	306	86	1,756	61
1871–75	1,280	305	434	356	2,375	70
1876–80	1,268	326	377	347	2,318	66
1881–85	1,440	341	380	466	2,627	75

The output of our mills has grown five times faster than population. The above table shows that cotton received a check after 1875, but has since risen higher than ever. Wool has steadily progressed, never falling back. Flax fell after 1850, rose rapidly after 1871, and fell again in 1876, showing little signs of recovery. Jute is a new industry, which has grown 11-fold since 1850: there was a slight recoil after 1875, but the average since 1880 is 33 per cent. over that of the preceding decade.

"Although the consumption of raw material affords the most exact measure of the activity of our manufacturing industries, irrespective of the money value, it will be interesting to compare

the sums paid for fibre with the value of the manufactured goods, the difference representing the money earned by the operatives and millowners. Firstly, as regards the cotton industry, the output (according to weight of fibre consumed) has been :—

Years.	Millions of yards of cotton cloth yearly. Made.	Exported.	Home use.
1840 ..	1,445	791	654
1841–50 ..	1,666	965	701
1851–60 ..	2,980	1,988	992
1861–70 ..	2,890	2,444	446
1871–80 ..	4,602	3,693	909
1881–85 ..	5,244	4,492	752

"The Customs returns give us the value of cotton goods and yarn exported; and, as regards home cousumption, we may put on 33 per cent. to the price per yard. The annual value of the product of our cotton mills is thus shown to be :—

Years.	Millions £. Exports.	Home use.	Total.
1841–50 ..	24·2 ..	15·6 ..	39·8
1851–60 ..	38·0 ..	20·1 ..	58·1
1861–70 ..	59·6 ..	11·8 ..	71·4
1871–80 ..	71·9 ..	19·5 ..	91·4
1881–85 ..	74·3 ..	13·5 ..	87·8

If we deduct the cost of raw cotton, we find that the net value of this industry to Great Britain since 1840 represents a larger amount than all the gold and silver produced by Peru and Mexico in 300 years. The balance-sheet of the cotton mills stands thus :—

Years.	Millions £. Raw Cotton.	Manufactures.	Net result.
1841–50 ..	110 ..	398 ..	288
1851–60 ..	242 ..	581 ..	339
1861–70 ..	431 ..	714 ..	283
1871–80 ..	389 ..	914 ..	525
1881–85 ..	191 ..	439 ..	248
45 Years ..	1,363 ..	3,046 ..	1,683

The net result rose from 29 millions in the decade ending 1850 to almost 52 millions per annum in 15 years ending 1885.

"The woollen industry shows the following balance-sheet:—

Years.	Annual value millions £. Exports.	Home use,	Total.
1841–50	7·9	20·1	28·0
1851–60	13.1	20·6	33·7
1861–70	23·7	22·4	46·1
1871–80	26·0	24·4	50·4
1881–85	22·4	20·2	42·6

Deducting the cost of raw material (British and imported wool), we find the difference in favour of manufacturers as shown in the subjoined table:—

Years.	Millions £. Wool.	Manufactures.	Net result.
1841–50	111	280	169
1851–60	135	337	202
1861–70	165	461	296
1871–80	185	504	319
1881–85	64	213	149
45 Years	660	1,795	1,135

Comparing these figures with those for the cotton industry we find that the latter exceeds the woollen by 50 per cent. in importance. The net product of the cotton mills in 45 years averaged 37 millions per annum, that of the woollen mills 25 millions.

"Linen occupies the third place among textile manufactures and shows as follows:—

Years.	Millions of yards of linen cloth yearly. Made.	Exported.	Home use.
1841-50	315	104	211
1851-60	317	132	185
1861-70	352	185	167
1871-80	362	201	161
1881-85	295	163	132

The decline in home consumption is extraordinary, for we use at present only 3½ yards per inhabitant yearly, against 8 yards in 1840, although linen was then worth 9d. a yard, and is now sold at 6½d. The value of linen manufactures since 1840 has been thus:—

	Millions £. per annum.		
Years.	Exports.	Home use.	Total.
1841-50 ..	4.5 ..	7.2 ..	11.7
1851-60 ..	5.7 ..	6.4 ..	12.1
1861-70 ..	7.7 ..	5.6 ..	13.3
1871-80 ..	8.2 ..	5.2 ..	13.4
1881-85 ..	6.5 ..	4.3 ..	10.8

Deducting the value of raw material (British and imported flax) the balance-sheet shows the net result for mill-owners thus:—

	Millions £.		
Years.	Flax.	Manufactures.	Net result.
1841-50 ..	58 ..	117 ..	59
1851-60 ..	47 ..	121 ..	74
1861-70 ..	60 ..	133 ..	73
1871-80 ..	57 ..	134 ..	77
1881-85 ..	21 ..	54 ..	33
45 Years ..	243 ..	559 ..	316

"The net result for the manufacturer has averaged since 1840 only 7 millions yearly, or about one-fourth of the product of our woollen mills. Moreover, the industry shows a marked decline, not only in money value, but in consumption of fibre."

"Jute stands fourth on the list of textiles, the output of the mills showing thus:—

	Millions of yards yearly.		
Years.	Made.	Exported.	Home use.
1851-60 ..	118 ..	10 ..	108
1861-70 ..	353 ..	26 ..	327
1871-80 ..	580 ..	116 ..	464
1881-85 ..	805 ..	221 ..	584

The balance-sheet of raw material and manufactures shows as follows :—

Years.	Millions £. Raw jute.	Manufactures.	Net result.
1851-60 ..	2 ..	14 ..	12
1861-70 ..	9 ..	53 ..	44
1871-80 ..	26 ..	85 ..	59
1881-85 ..	14 ..	44 ..	30
35 Years ..	51 ..	196 ..	145

"The annual net product for 35 years has averaged 4 millions, but at present reaches 6 millions, and it is not hazardous to predict that before long this industry will leave that of linen in the background.

"Silk comes next, and shows, like linen, a downward tendency, the net annual product at present hardly reaching 3 millions sterling, or half that of jute. The balance-sheet of silk manufactures since 1840 shows thus :—

Years.	Millions £. Raw silk.	Manufactures.	Net result.
1841-50 ..	51 ..	85 ..	34
1851-60 ..	62 ..	104 ..	42
1861-70 ..	53 ..	88 ..	35
1871-80 ..	32 ..	65 ..	33
1881-85 ..	11 ..	25 ..	14
45 Years	209 ..	367 ..	158

In the last 30 years the consumption of raw silk has fallen from 6 million to 2 million lbs. yearly. On the other hand, imported silk goods have multiplied 5-fold, averaging since 1880 a value of 11 millions sterling per annum.

"Summing up the 5 foregoing industries we find as follows:—

Years.	Millions £. Raw fibre.	Manufactures.	Net result.
1841–50 ..	330 ..	880 ..	550
1851–60 ..	488 ..	1,157 ..	669
1861–70 ..	718 ..	1,449 ..	731
1871–80 ..	689 ..	1,702 ..	1,013
1881–85 ..	301 ..	775 ..	474
45 Years ..	2,526 ..	5,963 ..	3,437

The highest net result was in the decade ending 1880, averaging 101 millions per annum, whereas since 1881 it has been only 95 millions a year.

"The development of our manufactures has been materially aided by the growth of steam power, which has cheapened the cost of production, and thus extended our markets in all parts of the world. The steam power of all nations has grown 15-fold, that of Great Britain nearly 12-fold, since 1840. . . . The annual increase of British horse power was 110,100 down to 1860, and 266,000 after that year. Steam does its work so quickly and cheaply that it gives Great Britain an advantage over other nations less endowed in this respect. Hand labour, as a rule, costs ten times dearer than what is done by horse, and steam is three times cheaper than horse; so that one million foot tons of energy by hand costs as much as 30 millions by steam. The effective energy or working power of the United Kingdom is now about 50,000 million foot tons daily, having quadrupled since 1840:—

	Millions of Foot Tons Daily.		
	1840.	1860.	1885.
Hand.....	1,750	1,900	2,370
Horse.....	7,000	8,000	8,700
Steam.....	3,420	12,400	38,800
Totals...	12,170	22,300	49,870

Thus it comes to pass that the collective energy of the nation is now equal to 1,380 foot tons daily per inhabitant, against 770 in 1860 and 464 in 1840. In other words, an Englishman of to-day can do as much work in three hours as would have taken nine hours in the year 1840; or, reckoning on the basis of the latter year, we should require a population of 107 millions to do our work. . . . It is worthy of note that no country in the world obtains energy so cheaply as we do. The only country that surpasses Great Britain in energy to population is the United States, which averages 50 foot tons more per inhabitant daily. The cause of this is, that the Americans have four times as many horses as in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, we have more steam

power per inhabitant, and thus our energy comes to cost us fourteen per cent. less. The ratios of work done by hand, horse, and steam in the principal countries in 1885 were as follows:—

	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany.	France.	Italy.	Belgium.
Hand	4·7	4·5	10·0	10·8	33·2	9·0
Horse	17·5	41·4	30·3	30·9	32·1	18·5
Steam	77·8	54·1	59·7	58·3	34·7	72·5
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100.0	100·0	100·0

In the ratio of work done by steam, Belgium most nearly approaches us, her steam power representing eight times the amount of energy possessed by her whole male population. The steam power of Great Britain is equal to the energy of sixteen times her population. . . . No country rivals us in the amount of steam power to population, our ratio being 27 horse power per 100 inhabitants against 19 in the United States, 16 in Belgium, 11 in France, and 11 in Germany." *(Fifty Years' National Progress*, M. G. MULHALL, One Shilling. A very useful book.)

ARMY AND NAVY.—The Monarchy is at a great disadvantage when we compare the cost of its Army and Navy with that of the Republic. In fifty years the cost of the Army and Navy has almost doubled. What reason is there for the increase in military power the last half century? Compare the figures for the two periods, and ask yourself Why?

	1850.	1870	1886.
Army	139,000	193,000	198,000
Militia	20,000	122,000	151,000
Volunteers.....	.....	193,000	254,000
Navy	48,000	55,000	60,000
Total...	207,000	563,000	667,000

The above is exclusive of the Anglo-Indian Army or the Royal Irish Constabulary.

INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY.—Here again we find Monarchy beaten. Why? Because our training system is not in accord with the age; and, instead of rising above old ideas and traditions, our

teachers cling to the past, and honour a man for his knowledge of the old world rather than the new,—his knowledge of the dead rather than of the living languages; so our youths begin the world with a lot of useless luggage they have to get rid of before they can understand the world as it is—a lot of their time wasted: whereas in the Republic they start in the race prepared with the latest knowledge, and every facility offered for progress. In the past, theologians opposed scientific research, forgetting that "Man is a thinking being, whether he will or no; all he can do is to turn his thoughts the best way. What better way than teaching the latest scientific facts? "Facts are the foundation of all our scientific knowledge, and of all the practical applications of it, and consequently of all the civilization and human progress resulting from it." (G. GORE.) "All great discoveries depend upon the combination of *exact facts* with clear ideas." There can be no progress without new discoveries by scientific men. Every new truth adds to our comfort, our wealth. To discover new truths, or to invent any machine that benefits mankind is to help in the solution of

> "A great problem, ever pressing upon mankind,
> Is, how to discover and apply
> The immense universe of Truth yet unknown:
> Thus to understand the Great Cause of all things,
> And harmonize our actions with it. And thus
> The final end of all original research
> Is the improvement and perfection of mankind."

The reason why America has made such rapid strides will be found, I think, in Mr. George Gore's invaluable book, "The Scientific Basis of National Progress," instead of in Mr. Carnegie's "Triumphant Democracy." The leading idea of Mr. Gore's book is "That present knowledge only enables us to maintain our present state; that *national* progress is the result of *new* ideas; and that the chief source of new ideas is original research. . . . . The greatest obstacle to the discovery of new knowledge in this country, lies in a wide-spread ignorance of the dependence of human welfare upon scientific research." We

want it taught in every school, and preached from every pulpit, that "The laws of Nature are the thoughts of God" (OERSTED), and that "The keys for unlocking the secrets of Nature are the great principles of science." (GORE.) "In the discovery of truth, in the development of men's mental power and privileges, each generation has its assigned part; and it is for us to endeavour to perform our portion of this perpetual task of our species." (WHEWELL.) No art or manufacture is so perfect as to be exempt from the influence of discovery and invention; and no man can produce so perfect an article but that, by the aid of science, a better may be produced. Science and trade are mutually dependent: without the assistance of science, trade would be unable to supply our daily increasing wants, and without the pecuniary support of trade, science would languish and decay. "In consequence of the labours of scientific discoverers and inventors, the progress of science is such that in a very few years a knowledge of it will be indispensable to all persons engaged in superintending or carrying out manufacturing operations and in all arts, occupations, and appointments in which man is dealing with matter. Science is fast penetrating into all our manufactures and occupations, and "those who are unscientific will have much less employment and be left behind in the race of life." England also will be compelled, by the necessities of human progress and the advance of foreign intellect, to determine and recognise the proper value of scientific research as a basis of progress. National superiority can only be maintained by being first in the race, and not by buying inventions of other nations.

"Whilst many millions of pounds are annually expended in this country upon religious, philanthrophic, and other good objects, there is scarcely a scientific society or institution (with the exception of the Royal Society and the British Association) which expends even the small sum of five hundred pounds a year on pure experimental research in physics or chemistry. In the Royal Institution of Great Britain the average annual expenses relating to experimental research, including salaries to assistants for research in the laboratory, from the year 1867 to 1871, did not

amount to two hundred and fifty pounds. On the other hand, the 'total net receipts' of the British and Foreign Bible Society alone, amount to about £213,000 a year. These circumstances strongly indicate extreme ignorance of the value and necessity of new scientific knowledge, and an equally strong desire to aid any good object which is understood. The money given to charitable and religious objects is largely a result of the unpaid labours of scientific investigators in the manner already described. The fact that verifiable truth is seriously neglected, whilst millions of pounds are annually devoted in this country to the support of dogmas and doctrines, proves that the English nation is even now in a very imperfectly civilized state" (*The Scientific Basis of National Progress*, by GEORGE GORE). A most invaluable little book, which should be in every school in the kingdom. Latterly more attention has been paid to technical education, which will be very useful, but we want the State to help scientific discovery, by rewarding with professorships those men able and willing to devote their lives thereto if they have the pecuniary means.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT, or Self-Government, is better understood in America than in England. In the new world we see again the well-ordered communities of our Saxon forefathers. It is well observed by Guizot "that in the earlier stages of civilization no Government but Local Government can have any practical existence, and that local rights are the most important of all rights for men whose life never goes beyond the boundaries of their fields. The German nations, as described by Cæsar and Tacitus, were nothing but associations of self-governed villages, or larger districts, occupied by separate families or clans, among whom there was not even the shadow of a common national allegiance, except for purposes of war. Such was the organization of the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, when they first settled in England; and though petty monarchies were founded in process of time, and ultimately absorbed into one kingdom of England, such continued for centuries to be the essential organization of the English people. Townships and burghs, and even counties

were not so much fractions or subdivisions of the whole English Commonwealth as the integral units out of which the English Commonwealth was moulded into National life. The history of Local Government in England is thus almost co-extensive with Constitutional history during the period before the Norman Conquest, and fills a very large space in Constitutional history until the legislative power of Parliament became firmly established under Edward I. and his two successors." (*Local Government in England*—BRODRICK.) Feudal government was local, the great Norman chieftains were stout champions of local independence. "Even Parliamentary representation itself was, originally little more than an expedient for obtaining the consent of local authorities to grants made or enactments passed by the National authority; and it would be hardly too much to say that for some generations the English legislature was rather Federal than Imperial in its essential character."

Then there seems to have been a steady decay in local government, or government by the people, until the Reform Act of 1832, when commenced local government as it now exists in England, the result of fifty years' progressive legislation under a Democratic impulse; but unfortunately conducted with an absolute disregard of symmetry and upon no scientific basis. An important step was taken in the year 1871, by the constitution of a new department of State, called the Local Government Board, which has great power. "Under the Act which established this Board, it was invested with all the powers and functions of the old Poor Law Board, together with all those of the Home Secretary, in regard of public health and improvement of towns, registration, and returns of local taxation, as well as those of the Privy Council in regard of vaccination and the prevention of disease. In the following year the powers and functions of the Board of Trade under the Alkali Act, and Metropolis Water Acts, and of the Home Secretary under the Highways and Turnpike Acts, were transferred to the same department. The subsequent reform and consolidation of the Sanitary Laws may be considered as, in some degree the result of this administrative change; and it

may fairly be said that many, though not all, branches of local government in England are now superintended by a single central authority." I am not in favour of this centralization, but would have the residents of every parish trained to think it a duty that they should be a self-governing community. I would have it said of England what Sir T. Erskine May said, that "Every parish is the image and reflection of the State;" its parishioners taking an active interest in all its local affairs, and attending at every assembly of ratepayers, to discuss its affairs as earnestly as our Democratic brethren do, and our forefathers did, this result will be best secured by real local government.

The Reform Act of 1832 was a most important step towards democracy, as it not only disfranchised the small, and, therefore, buyable burghs, and enfranchised great towns which had not been represented, but it conferred the suffrage on ten pound householders. Civil and religious liberty has made such advancement the last half century that the foundations of the State rest on a broader basis—the spirit of legislation has been to extend the franchise to all classes, and the number of electors has risen as follows:—

Year.		Electors.	Per Thousand Inhabitants.
1835	.....	839,000	 33
1871	.....	2,553,000	 81
1881	.....	3,077,000	 88
1885	.....	5,716,000	 160

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 proceeded on the same broad lines of policy, and imposed upon all boroughs one constitutional form of government. But, and this is another reason for local as opposed to central government, boroughs like individuals, differ, and what may be good for the busy town will not do for a quiet cathedral city; what is good for a manufacturing will not do for an agricultural community; what is good for an inland town will not do for a seaport, etc. Boroughs, like individuals, to make progress, must be self-helpful, self-reliant, and competent to govern themselves. "It is impossible to survey county administration in its entirety without being struck with the extraordinary absence of self-government in rural communities.

We are wont to look back on Saxon times as barbarous, and on the feudal system as oppressive; but the simple truth is that nine-tenths of the population in an English country parish have, at this moment less share in local government than belonged to all classes of freemen for centuries before, and for centuries after the Norman Conquest. Again, they have not merely less share in local government than belongs to French peasants of the present day, but less than belonged to French peasants under the eighteenth century monarchy, though more, it must be allowed, than belonged to their own ancestors of the same age as described by Fielding."—(*Local Government in England*, by BRODRICK.)

There is but one conclusion to be drawn from the above. Everyone interested in the good of England, must help to make rural communities alive to their rights and duties, rouse them to a sense of their responsibilities, accustom all classes to work together daily or weekly for public objects, and thus strike at the root of those class prejudices, which mainly spring from mutual ignorance. The national legislature must be freed from all business that can be done locally, and its time and energy concentrated and reserved for purely national business. To save the Empire, local government must once more in England become "a great constitutional power, intermediate between the State and the individual citizen, the permanent bulwark of social order, and the national school of civil liberty."

EDUCATION. — Except in Scotland the Monarchy was in a very backward condition fifty years ago. The percentage of persons able to write their names in the marriage register was

1836	...	England 57	...	Scotland 78	...	Ireland 48.
1881	...	„ 84	...	„ 88	...	„ 67.

England has made the greatest progress, Ireland the least. We have made more progress the last ten years than in the forty preceding.

Years.			School Children.			Ratio to Population.
1850	...	...	1,598,000	...	...	6·0
1875	...	...	2,565,000	...	...	7·8
1885	...	...	4,330,000	...	...	12·0

"The actual percentage of adults who can write is, eighty-two in the United Kingdom, seventy-eight in France, ninety in the United States, and ninety-four in Germany."—MULHALL.

PAUPERISM.—We have not reliable figures to go back fifty years, but, as Mr. Giffen stated in his inaugural address as President of the Statistical Society, November 20th, 1883, "It is matter of history however that pauperism was nearly breaking down the country half a century ago. The expenditure on poor relief early in the century and down to 1830-31 was nearly as great at times as it is now. With half the population in the country that there now is, the burden of the poor was the same. Since 1849, however, we have continuous figures, and from these we know that with a constantly increasing population there is an absolute decline in the amount of pauperism." The paupers in receipt of relief at the earliest and latest dates are:—

	1849.	1887.
England ...	934,000 ...	817,289
Scotland ...	122,000 ...	92,813
Ireland ...	620,000 ...	113,241
United Kingdom	1,676,000 ...	1,023,343

The proportion of pauperism to population was 21·4 to the 1,000 in 1887, smaller than in any of the 30 previous years, except the two years immediately preceding it. The proportion was lowest in 1885, when it fell to 21·0 to the 1,000.

"Although the poor are certainly not less virtuous than the rich, there is apparently some relation between crime and pauperism from a statistical point of view. Thus we find that in 1843 the number of paupers receiving relief in England was 1,546,000, or 9½ per cent. of population, that is, three times the present ratio, and in that year crime, according to committals, was three and a half times more numerous that at present." MULHALL.

The most creditable feature in the national progress in the last half-century is the decrease of crime, the official returns show the average annual committals thus:

Period.	Per annum.	Per 100,000 Inhabitants.
1840-9	57,175 ...	... 204
1850-9	41,424 ...	... 151
1860-9	27,605 ..	.. 92
1870-9	22,812 ..	.. 69
1880-5	20,763 ..	59

"Here is a decline of seventy per cent., partly due to the spread of public instruction, partly to the cheaper price of bread, partly to the action of reformatories and industrial schools. Juvenile crime, for example, has fallen fifty-three per cent. since 1869, when this class of offenders numbered 458 per million inhabitants, the ratio being now only 215. Reformatories cost the State £10 per child yearly, or little more than half the total expense, the rest being defrayed by donations. We can still make further progress in this direction, since the prison returns show that 6,000 of the criminals now in detention are under 21 years of age: we have but to rescue the children in time from vicious ways. Habitual criminals are the immediate result of evil training in youth: the French returns show that forty-eight per cent. of all crime in France is perpetrated by professional criminals, and, according to our own records, ten per cent of male, and thirty-three per cent. of female prisoners in England have been convicted ten times or upwards. In ten years, ending 1885, the annual average of commitals per 100,000 of the population was sixty in England, seventy-one in Scotland, seventy-seven in Ireland." MULHALL.

There is no getting over the facts; a steady improvement as regards the proportion of criminals to the population, therefore it is our duty to rescue the young and train them so as to earn their living, as the improvement as regards crime will be found to correspond to the better education and well-being of the masses. We have got, in fact, to realise more practically than heretofore that there is a cause for every effect, and if we want to improve the moral and material well-being of the people we must first ascertain the causes of pauperism and crime, and take the necessary steps to remove them. However, taking all in all, although the Republic has advanced more rapidly owing to many

favourable natural causes, quite independent of her form of government, the Monarchy has much to be proud of for the progress made during the last half-century. Compare impartially the present condition of the masses with what it was 50 years ago, and, with a few exceptions, we shall find the utmost reason for satisfaction. There is plenty of room for improvement, still, the mass of the people are better housed, better clothed, better fed, and have more enjoyment in life than they had when I was a boy half a century ago. Wages all round upon the average, are twenty-five per cent. higher, and the price of necessaries twenty-five per cent. lower, the only drawback is rent. "Whereas in 1840 house property averaged a value of £30 per inhabitant, it now stands for £75, a proof that rents have risen 150 per cent." (MULHALL.) This advance is owing solely to our most inequitable land system, which taxes all industry by giving to the landowner for nothing the houses built by others, and as the builder or buyer of the houses have to get their capital back before the lease expires, you will perceive that the rent of every house *must be proportionately increased.* The system is so iniquitous that unless it be promptly altered, it must inevitably cause a revolution here, let us hope in a constitutional manner, but unless we can get justice from our present system of government, there will be no alternative but to substitute a Republic for the Monarchy. The law should help the weak, not the strong, but, unfortunately, the law makers are landowners, or those related to or connected with them, and they will uphold, as long as they can, a system when the laws were made by landowners. Land is a monopoly, and "Monopoly, in all its forms, is the taxation of the industrious for the support of indolence, if not of plunder." (MILL.) The system of appropriating houses of great value, or of charging heavy premiums for renewals, and increased rent for improved value, due solely to tenants enterprise or outlay of capital in cities like London, I say unhesitatingly, is in its operation at the present time "one of plunder."

When the middle class of England realize that our land laws in their operation is a tax upon industry, to support idle land-

owners, as the corn laws were a tax upon industry by raising artificially the price of corn to give higher rents to landowners; and, realizing this as a fact, fail to get justice from their representatives, England will be near a revolution. May the wisdom of the landowners avert this; may they, one and all, have the moral courage to do what is right, when it is brought home to them. I complained before the Towns Holdings Committee that upon the Westminster Estate an old tenant had been refused a renewal, and the lease was given to a stranger, because he could not pay a premium, but offered to pay an equivalent by giving a higher rent, the defence was "invariable custom upon the estate," since then, if tenants could not pay the premium, a higher rent has been accepted. I complained of the practice by which tenants had to take leases from second persons, and, therefore, had to pay higher rents to middle men. One of the tenants, whose case I quoted, wrote me February 14th, 1888, "Mr. Boodle has taken me as direct tenant at reduced rent." This means that the manager of the estates had bought up the middleman's rights, and put the tenant in his place; I think it but just to Mr. Boodle to state this, and the Duke of Westminster and others who manage the estate deserve the highest praise for their moral courage in doing what is right. It is a noble example, that for the good of our country let us hope others will follow.

Spite of the drawbacks of our land laws, owing to Free Trade, which has reduced the price of all the necessaries of life, "fifteen per cent. of the people of the three kingdoms reside in houses valued at or over £20 a year, against five per cent. in 1840, which means that ten per cent. of the population, who formerly lived in poor dwellings, are now in the enjoyment of comfortable, healthy habitations. No wonder that deaths from consumption have been twenty per cent. fewer since the year 1880, than before the year 1860. The general increase of wealth has been extensive to the working classes, since the depositors in savings banks, and members of friendly societies, numbered last year (1886) ten million persons, whose savings amounted to one hundred and sixty millions sterling, or £16 per head. These

accumulations since 1840 have grown fourteen times faster than population, the annual increase since 1875 having been seven millions sterling. . . The overcrowding of population in large towns, and the want of suitable hospital accommodation for the sick poor, are two matters of transcendent interest. Much of the drunkenness that threatens to sap the nation (convictions for drunkeness, compared with population, were fifty per cent. higher in 1885 than in 1860), is directly due to the "slums" where the poor are caged up in a manner that we should think unfit for horses. As Professor Huxley says: "The inhabitants of the poorer quarters of London, and other large towns, are condemned to a mode of life far more degraded and uncivilised than that of any tribe of Western Africa." . . . It is to be lamented that the enormous increase of wealth since 1840 has not been accompanied by a greater attention to the wants of poor and suffering humanity. However laudable it may be to get up subscriptions for sufferers in Bulgaria, missions in Patagonia, floods in Andalusia, earthquakes in Guatemala, and foreign adventurers of strictly moral antecedents, there is a duty that every Englishman owes his country, to remove the stigma which Professor Huxley held up to public notice in the words above quoted." (MULHALL.)

"PUBLIC HEALTH—There is no more important duty for the Government than to see the people are well housed in clean and healthy habitations. No underground rooms; houses built upon a good dry foundation, and well drained; good water supply; and no house allowed to be built without a bath room, or room without a fireplace. We have expended in the last 30 years more than 100 millions sterling on water-supply, drainage, and other sanitary works, the result of which has been a decrease of death-rate, viz.:—

	Death yearly per 1000 Inhabitants.			
Period.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
1837-60 ..	22.5	—	—	—
1861-70 ..	22.6	22.0	16.7	21.4
1871-80 ..	21.3	21.8	18.1	21.0
1881-85 ..	19.3	19.4	18.0	19.2

"The death-rate in Ireland has unhappily increased, partly due to neglect on the part of municipal authorities in matters of public health, partly to the sufferings, exposure and hardships undergone by many thousands of people, evicted under circumstances of extreme cruelty. But if we regard the whole of the United Kingdom, we find that the rate has declined 10 per cent. since 1870, which is equal to a saving of 70,000 lives yearly. This is the more remarkable in view of the extraordinary increase of urban population, subject to a heavier death-rate than rural: the collective rate last year for 30 principal cities was 23 per thousand, that is about 20 per cent. higher than for the kingdom in general. In 1886 the death-rates of 8 principal cities were:—

London	20.7	Glasgow.. ..	24.8
Liverpool ..	23.7	Edinburgh ..	19.1
Manchester ..	25.9	Dublin	27.0
Birmingham ..	20.0	Leeds	20.8

One of the most fatal enemies to human life is phthisis, or consumption, which carries off yearly 21 per 10,000 inhabitants in Ireland, 22 in England, 23 in Scotland, 25 in London. It is, however, gratifying to observe a steady decline in this cause of death in England, viz. :—

Period.	Per 100,000 inhabitants, yearly.
1851-60	273
1861-70	255
1871-80	221

This shows that phthisis is now 20 per cent. less deadly than in the years 1851-60. Still more notable is the improvement in Scotland as regards zymotic diseases, deaths from small-pox in the last 10 years not exceeding a yearly average of 30 per million inhabitants, against 302 in the 15 years 1850-64.

"The immediate effect of reduced death-rate in England has been to add 3 years to the span of life, viz. :—

Age.	Expectation, years. 1838-54.	1876-85.
5 ..	50.0 ..	53.0
20 ..	39.9 ..	41.5

"Although we have to record so many favourable indications regarding public health, we cannot shut our eyes to the marked increase of insanity, the number of insane paupers per 1,000 inhabitants having risen as follows :—

Period.	England.	Scotland.
1861-65 ..	2.08 ..	2.05
1871-75 ..	2.58 ..	2.29
1880 ..	2.79 ..	2.58

Ingenious arguments have been advanced, to explain away this increase of insanity, but the fact deserves studious examination." MULHALL.

Another most important matter, where an urgent effort is needed, is to prevent the loss of life by mining explosions. In the last fifty years upwards of 11,000 persons have lost their lives in Great Britain owing to explosions in mines. The cause of most of these catastrophes was blasting and the ill-regulated use of powder, defective safety lamps, naked lights, ignorance of the properties of coal-dust as an agent in spreading (if not initiating) an explosion, and lax discipline. When the Mines' Act came into operation in 1873, there seemed a chance of improvement, as in that year the recorded deaths were only 100—the lowest since 1859. But in 1877, 345 persons were killed by explosions, and in 1878 deaths from explosion reached the high figure of 586. In 1880 there were 499 deaths; in 1884 only 65—the lowest recorded; but in 1885 there were 341, and in 1886 only 116. We have made great progress during the last half century; but there is plenty of work before us, and the world moves on at a very different rate to what it did half a century ago. Old industries are transformed, and new ones invented so rapidly that the whole mass of productive and distributive labour needs to be on the alert, ready for change at any moment; but if it raises the national efforts to utilise to the utmost the greater knowledge at our command to endow the whole population with conveniences, comforts, and luxuries which a century ago were beyond the reach of kings, surely we ought to heartily help and rejoice at the rapid development of our time. The old take it easy,

stage coach days are past, and cannot be recalled if we would. Therefore we must realize that we live in the age of "steam" and "telegrams." The whole Railway system of the country is the creation of the last half century; and I know nothing that offers so suitable a simile between 1838 and 1888, as the fact, that whereas railways are now everywhere, fifty years ago they were practically nowhere. We could not exist to-day without this efficient system of inter-communication; but the principal importance of easy, rapid, and comparatively cheap (our suburban or short distance traffic is much too costly) locomotion has had a great influence upon the social life and even the moral character of the nation. The great value of Railways, one that we must recognise and utilise more, is to minimise to the utmost the time and money spent in the transfer of goods and men, and the facilities for the rapid transmission of correspondence and news. The establishment of the Penny Post in 1840, together with the rapidity and regularity of the deliveries, owing to the development of our railway system, has, in conjunction with the Telegraph system, quite revolutionised the internal trade of the kingdom. Half a century ago the factory system was just completing the destruction of domestic industries; and the change, though for the national benefit, seemed at first disastrous to the workman. It transformed the artisan from an independent tradesman, with a place of business of his own, into a mere unit in an army of operatives directed by skilled managers. The middle class are now undergoing the same ordeal: we are living in an age of intense competition, and a small turn-over requires a larger percentage of profit than can be obtained, so that the tendency is for large establishments, by which time is also saved, and the smaller tradesmen and all unnecessary middle-men are doomed, and must yield to the inevitable law of 'the survival of the fittest,'—a law that holds with nations as with individuals, a law by which the progress of the Monarchy and the Republic will be judged by some abler pen than mine half a century hence.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

"Let the past perish! Let darkness shroud it! Let it sleep for ever over the crumbling temples and desolate tombs of its forgotton sons—if it cannot afford us, from its disburied secrets, a guide for the present and the future." RIENZI.

The object of Government is to benefit the people—no people will love a Government or obey it, solely from a sense of duty. They love it and obey it in proportion as they are happy or prosperous under it; and because it enables them to follow their vocations in peace and gives security to their lives and persons. A people must love the constitution under which their country prospers, a Government that gives them all the benefits of national life without interference with their local liberties, or restrictions to their efforts onwards—the Government can be, is, a valuable aid to self help, or, and too often has been, and is still inclined to be, a check by its unnecessary interference and offers of help. The Government has its own duties to perform, and should not concern itself, or try to direct, or interfere with the daily lives of individuals. Let each man, or father of a family, distinctly understand he must regulate his own life, manage his own affairs, get his own living, or a living for those he has voluntarily become responsible for. If the Government does anything let it compel each man to do his duty—its primary duty is to protect the lives and property of its people against internal or external foes, to have such laws as will conduce to the health of the people, encourage every effort calculated to benefit the people; the laws so simple and clear that anyone can understand them, and so calculated to do justice to all alike, that every man will help in seeing that they are observed, and as scrupulous over the expenditure of every penny as if they were trustees liable to the law for error. Briefly, be in earnest, and be honest. This is what the people will expect in the future—they have got the power—when they are wise enough to use it—to elect men

anxious to serve the people, and not use them for their own ambitions or selfish purposes. Men must be judged by their acts. No man ought to be M.P. unless he be a real patriot. Country first, self last, with the majority this is reversed.

Whatever loyalty there may have been in the past to the King as the 'Lord's Anointed,' whatever submission to Government without favour received or expected; no Monarch, constitution or Government can be made in our day to reign in men's hearts except as the results of benefits so palpable that all people perceive and appreciate. Government must be practically viewed: the management of a nation is similar to the management of a ship, a factory, or a warehouse. Those succeed best who act strictly according to business laws, and put aside sentiment or enthusiasm. A wise ruler will forget the past, dry up and not keep opening the sources of crime or discontent. Discontent and rebellion have a cause, and in politics as in physics, if you remove the cause the effect will disappear. It is wise to give communities as much as possible the management of their own affairs, and trust to the love of material comfort and prosperity, which is so strong with all civilized or even partially civilized men, to maintain that order and obedience to law essential to material prosperity.

In politics, as in medicine, aye in everything, there must be 'truth' to guide us, if we are anxious for the truth. What a mess we have got into the last few years; the state is like a vessel directed without a compass—no policy, no definite aim. What would you have? I would have politics studied as a science, the art of wise Government, the object, greatest good to the greatest number, justice to all, privilege to none—impartial as heaven. For M.P.s, men who have selected Parliament as their vocation to help their fellow-men, not to benefit themselves. Government a help not a hindrance, loved not hated. As it is we have on the one side a party of destruction only anxious to please Demos, on the other, a party who will consent to no change until compelled to make it. The one is called 'Liberal,' namely, the party that wants to take from those that have to give to those who have not; the other is called 'Conservative;' yet willingly

concede under pressure, or to obtain or retain power, will be as liberal as the other fellows; with both, an absence of the desire to thoroughly understand the subject, and being anxious for what is right, earnestly striving for it. The great fault of modern Reform Bills is, that they transfer the power from those who have something to preserve, to those who have nothing. Whereas the great art in Government is to encourage men to labour and to accumulate, and so form a powerful class whose interest it is to protect the institutions under which they live.

The men of thought, the leaders and developers of society must always be in the minority, yet no progress is possible without their aid. Instead of honouring these men, instead of giving them extra privileges to encourage others to follow in their footsteps, our aim has been politically to level the higher types to the lower. Your lackey is a man, and his vote has the same power as his master's; and the employer is swamped and politically extinguished by the men he employs. This is the trump card of Liberalism in the game of politics—the art of Government, the weak and incompetent to overrule and direct and govern the strong. What an awakening there will be some day. God help those alive at the time, unless the people are prepared to use their power wisely, and in all things 'put themselves in the other people's place,' and strive to do in all trying circumstances 'as they would be done by.' Is it possible? Yes, it is not too late. Men were ever better than their creeds; are now more equitable than their laws. The higher minds and nobler spirits that have urged us onwards to the point we have reached cannot be extinct; they only want rousing and stimulating to action. We must fill men with larger ambitions. I say with Disraeli:—"Is then this civilization, so much vaunted, inseparable from moderate feelings and little thoughts? If so, give me back barbarism! But I cannot believe it. Man that is made in the image of the Creator is made for Godlike deeds. Come what may, I will cling to the heroic principle. It can alone satisfy my soul." Unfortunately we have little of the heroic element in our governing bodies—whether

ruled by Church, King, Lords or Commons, self is the predominant influence. What are the results? A life of slavery for the majority, of luxury for the minority. The land held upon certain conditions, but the penalties put upon the shoulders of others. The landowner enriched by a system of legalized robbery, that justifies and gives to the landowner another man's property. Disraeli in Sybil p. 290 confirms this view: "I believe that on every *principle of justice* Mowbray Castle is as much yours *as the house that is built by the tenant on the Lord's land.*" The land was held by the nobleman as by the yeoman upon a certain tenure, the principle of which was to supply men to defend the country in time of war. But after the revolution of 1688 the Whig nobles altered this, and we have introduced funded debts. It was a subtle stroke of policy, to mortgage the future industry of the people instead of mortgaging the land, to pay for wars, the principal object of which was to protect the land owner's property. Think it over, you will see that nothing could be more unjust than putting this millstone round the people's necks, but the worst feature is that debt was sanctioned by law, debt became a national habit, in any emergency, for any little street improvement, we contract loans. Anything to put off the present liability, and so debts are incurred that never would be incurred but for this pernicious habit of putting on to posterity our burdens. Credit became fashionable. It is only snobs, little people, that pay ready money, whereas it should be the reverse, ready money the ruling power, credit the exceptional auxiliary, and the being in debt a reproach, not a merit. There is nothing more contemptible than a 'Nobleman' not able to pay his tailor's or butcher's bill, leaving town or going abroad because they have contracted debts, they want the aid of 'Time' to enable them to pay. This follows when a Government has not the moral courage to face its responsibility, and 'borrows' from the future instead of retrenching or taxing to pay its liabilities. The Government ought to set an example and pay ready money, and it would be a good thing for themselves if the aristocracy, all persons with 'fixed' incomes, everyone in fact, paid cash, credit to be the exception, not the rule.

But where is the M.P. who will dare proclaim such a truth? Where is the constituency who would listen to the man who told them to bear their own burden and not in case of war, or drainage, or improvement to 'borrow,' but to pay as they go, and if they have not the money, or can't afford to do a job let it bide till they can, and not reap the benefit, but leave the burden for those that follow them to pay. There is nothing so demoralizing as debt; it bears its own punishment; it is a costly plaything; it is like playing with fire. Mr. Goschen has by his conversion scheme affected a large deserving class, who have only sufficient income at 'Three per cent.' to live upon. But in his position as 'Trustee' for the people, he was compelled to borrow for the nation at the lowest price he could get money for. But he has made an alteration we must all agree with—the payment of the dividends quarterly, therefore all those living by their investments in Government securities should, by buying for ready money, gain more in reduced prices than they will lose by reduction of interest.

The principal reason why other countries have not adopted Free Trade is, being compelled to raise taxes indirectly to cover the large sums required to pay interest on loans, mostly wasted in war. "In 1848 the National Debts of the world amounted to 1,731 millions sterling. At this moment (1886) they cannot be less than 5,000 millions, and they are increasing year by year. The raising of revenue to meet the interest on them becomes more and more difficult every day, and the Statesmen who have the task on their hands are at their wits' end how to raise the required sums. Protectionist nations with vast armaments find themselves in dire straits for money to meet the constantly increasing expenses, and their rulers see no way of raising the requisite funds, but by the creation of monopolies, or the imposition of customs duties. In face of such facts it is absurd to assert that protection is the outcome of wise thought, the product of economic knowledge. In the building up of their protectionist tariff the rulers are urged on by the interests which have grown up under the baneful system, while the ignorant people, who groan

under this organised system of robbery, are comforted in their affliction by being assured that these exactions are necessary in order to protect them from the competition of the dreaded foreigner." (GEO. WM. MEDLEY, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1886.)

Those people who state that England suffers because of Free Imports should think over the following statistics :—

Five years average of Exports from 1836 to 1885.

From	1836-40	about	£50,000,000
„	1841-45	„	54,000,000
„	1846-50	„	61,000,000
„	1851-55	„	89,000,000
„	1856-60	„	124,000,000
„	1881-85	„	232,000,000

This increase is mainly due to our manufacturers getting their raw material at the lowest price, free of duty, and the profit thereon. There is no friendship in trade—let us compare the result of Free Imports and Taxed Imports in the supply to a large market, and the keenest buyers in the world, the United States in 1884 :—

Great Britain sold them goods to the value of	£32,510,000
France	£14,169,000
Germany	£13,004,000

Next take that of Germany in 1884 :—

Great Britain sold them goods to the value of	£25,365,000
France	£12,194,000
United States	£ 6,261,000

Next take that of France in 1884 :—

Great Britain sold them goods to the value of	£24,652,000
Germany	£16,676,000
United States	£11,180,000

Still people shake their heads, things are bad, there is a commission to enquire into the cause of the depression, Great Britain is in her decline, we have had our day, &c. Is it so? I think not, and assert positively that if it be so, the fault is ours, and matters would be worse, and our fall the speedier if we from ignorance of economic law revert in the least to duties of any kind on imports.

If wise we should abolish at once those that remain, and indirect taxation, the 'taxation of ignorance' with them. But figures deny the 'decay,' or at all events, we bear favourable comparison with our three great rivals :—

In 1884.	Imports and Exports. £	Per head of Population. (The only real test.)
Great Britain	685,985,000	19 0 0
France	303,040,000	7 18 0
Germany	323,285,000	6 17 6
United States	290,138,000	5 3 3

Free Trade establishes the principle of the right of the consumer to everything he has to buy at its lowest price. The Corn Laws by keeping up the price of corn was a tax upon every loaf of bread, that the landowner might get a higher rent for his land. Fair Trade or protection to any production or distribution, means the same thing, a tax upon the article protected, to be paid by higher prices by every buyer thereof. It is strange how men cling to the prejudices of the past. Protection nearly ruined the nation to benefit a class, yet in any depression we are asked to revert to it in a modified form; but we ought to know that if the principle be wrong, its adoption in any form must be a remedy worse than the disease.

We want more philosophers amongst our politicians and statesmen. Men like David Hume, who died in 1776, yet he knew more of real political economy than many of our representatives at Westminster in 1888. Of the jealousy of trade, he wrote:—"Nothing is more usual among states which have made some advances in commerce, than to look on the progress of their neighbours with a suspicious eye, to consider all trading states, as their rivals, and to suppose that it is impossible for any of them to flourish but at their expense. In opposition to this narrow-minded malignant opinion, I will venture to assert that the increase of riches and commerce in any one nation, instead of hurting, commonly promotes the riches and commerce of all its neighbours; and that a state can scarcely carry its trade and industry very far when all the surrounding states are bound in ignorance, sloth, and barbarism.

"It is obvious, that the domestic industry of a people cannot be hurt by the greatest prosperity of their neighbours;

and as this branch of commerce is undoubtedly the most important in any extensive kingdom, we are so far removed from all reason of jealousy. But I go further and observe, that when an open communication is preserved among nations, it is impossible, but the domestic industry of every one must receive an increase from the improvement of the other. Compare the situation of Great Britain at present with what it was two centuries ago. All the arts, both of agriculture and manufactures, were then extremely rude and imperfect. Every improvement which we have since made has arisen from our imitation of foreigners; and we ought so far to esteem it happy that they had previously made advances in arts and ingenuity. But this intercourse is still upheld to our great advantage; notwithstanding the advanced state of our manufactures, we daily adopt in every art, the inventions and improvements of our neighbours. The commodity is first imported from abroad, to our great discontent, while we imagine that it drains us of our money; afterwards, the art itself is gradually imported, to our visible advantage, yet we continue still to repine, that our neighbours should possess any art, industry, and invention; forgetting that, had they not first instructed us, we should have been at present barbarians; and did they not still continue their instructions, the arts must fall into a state of langour and lose that emulation and novelty which contributes so much to their advancement.

"But what if a nation has any staple commodity, such as the woollen manufacture is in England? Must not the interfering of our neighbours in that manufacture be a loss to us? I answer, that when any commodity is denominated the staple of a kingdom, it is supposed that this kingdom has some peculiar and natural advantages for raising the commodity; and if, notwithstanding these advantages, they lose such a manufacture, they ought to blame their own idleness or bad government, not the industry of their neighbours. It ought also to be considered, that by the increase of industry among the neighbouring nations, the consumption of every particular species of commodity is also increased; and though foreign manufactures interfere with them

in the market, the demand for their product may still continue, or even increase; and should it diminish, ought the consequences to be esteemed so fatal? If the spirit of industry be preserved, it may easily be diverted from one branch to another; and the manufacturers of wool, for instance, be employed in linen, silk, iron, or any other commodities for which there appears to be a demand. We need not apprehend that all the objects of industry will be exhausted, or that our manufacturers—while they remain on an equal footing with those of our neighbours—will be in danger of wanting employment. The emulation among rival nations serves rather to keep industry alive in all of them; and any people is happier who possess a variety of manufactures, than if they enjoyed one single great manufacture in which they are all employed. Their situation is less precarious, and they will feel less sensibly those revolutions and uncertainties to which every particular branch of commerce will always be exposed. . .

"Were our narrow and malignant politicians to meet with success, we should reduce all our neighbouring nations to the same state of sloth and ignorance that prevails in Morocco and the coast of Barbary. But what would be the consequences? They could send us no commodities: they could take none from us; our domestic commerce itself would languish for want of emulation, example, and instruction; and ourselves should soon fall into the same abject condition to which we had reduced them. I shall therefore venture to acknowledge that, not only as a man, but as a British subject, I pray for the flourishing commerce of Germany, Spain, Italy, and even France itself. I am at least certain that Great Britain, and all those nations would flourish more did their sovereigns and ministers adopt such enlarged and benevolent sentiments towards each other." (DAVID HUME.) The form of government is of less consequence, than the necessity for the people to grasp as a fact, that nations, like individuals, depend for their prosperity and happiness upon the understanding of and obedience to "Law"—more especially the law so clearly expressed in the above extract, of each one being interested in and benefitted by the success of others. We want in politics

more breadth of vision, we want in the people less jealousy of their neighbours and other nations. We want Political Economy recognised as the science that teaches nations how to prosper, and therefore the necessity of a rigid adherence to its laws. If a trade is declining, get at its cause and remove it; or if other nations can do better, divert the labour and capital into some other manufacture. Don't ask for protection by taxing the manufactures of the foreigner, or shutting out foreign labour: such expedients only act as palliatives for a time; whereas adherence to philosophical principles alone can secure a permanent cure.

Talk of Free Trade idolatory! as men get wiser they will worship more and more an idol so conducive to national prosperity. "Fair Trade" is a misnomer: it, and every system of "protection," is a legislative system of "blackmail," levied on behalf of the "class" interested, by the aid of the Government, upon their unfortunate fellow-men. Unfortunately the mass of the people are not acquainted with the facts, and are misled by the statements of those who ought to know better. Lord Penzance, and those who hold his views, appeal to the working class in this manner. A pianoforte, which would cost to make here £30, can be made in France and imported here for £27; and although the consumer may thus save £3, they argue that the loss in wages to those who would have the Pianoforte to make, were it not for free imports, is greater than the amount saved by the consumer. But he does not say—and this must never be forgotten when deciding upon this question—that France is paid the £27 for the Piano by *English goods*, so that the gain of £3 is a real one; as, if the Pianoforte maker has lost an order, and his men their wages, some other manufacturer has had an order, and his men wages, in reality, and that is the action of free imports: it is carrying out Nature's law of the "survival of the fittest;" we get better value for our money, and France gets in exchange better value also. But alike in France and England, it is not *a loss of*, but a *transfer* of orders and wages, to those most deserving of it. Such it hath ever seemed to me is God's wish, such the inevitable action of God's law. The more we understand the economic laws,

the more we shall appreciate the wisdom of our Ruler in arranging that each country shall excel in quality or cheapness over another in some articles, the Creator trusting to self-interest; or, failing that necessity, compelling men to produce those articles they can do best, and exchanging those with their fellow-men all over the world for those articles they do best. This is the action of free, open, and unrestricted trade—a policy that gives to *all and each* the utmost value,—a policy utterly opposed and antagonistic to that of the past, of privilege and protection.

The working class must remember that Free Trade cheapens the food they eat, the clothes they wear, the houses they live in; and that the result is for the general benefit, although some individuals may suffer. But this suffering, like the distress that led to the bread riots of 1843-44, are blessings in disguise, they teach us that men shall be trained not to be dependant upon one kind of labour. "The trade of Coventry in ribbons failed, the fashion changed, and the town was apparently ruined. Protectionists, Fair Traders, and others of Lord Penzance's way of thinking advocated the imposition of duties. No, said the hard-hearted economist, and Free Trade idolators, if the ribbon trade of Coventry cannot be carried on except by such means, let it perish, and let the workers turn to something else. Of course, no duties were imposed, and what took place? Coventry instead of making ribbons, makes bicycles and trycycles, and does a roaring trade in supplying the world with them." (GEORGE WM. MEDLEY.)

By State interference, by Protection, you keep going in a state of half-starvation, a weak industry; by not interfering, by refusing to prop up a decaying trade, you compel men to use their brains, and establish self-sustaining industries; to make goods that are wanted, instead of those that are not, or that can be supplied cheaper by other nations. Think less of Government help. Rely on yourselves, be men. Believe, and act upon the belief, that in this world as you sow so you will reap. Put aside that excuse for man's shortcomings, 'Chance,' and rely upon your own industry, skill, and thrift; and that your cupboard will be full or empty according to whether your efforts have been wisely or

unwisely directed. I would have it impressed upon the brain of everyone, as soon as they can understand it, the doctrine of 'cause and effect,' make them understand the certainty of punishment by God's system, however late the payment may be deferred, it *must come*. "This too late punishment of mortals which meets one at every turn, which rises up with its terrible nothingness of result, is one of the curses which the Creator has pronounced against man, a nemesis which cannot be grappled with, a writing on the wall which cannot be effaced." Sir JOHN LUBBOCK.

There are several methods of helping the people: to raise them up, by training them to work; and by elevating their thoughts of labour, to raise their self-respect; too proud to be helped, and anxious to do to others as they would be done by; or to lower and degrade them by a system of State help; or to rob them of their individuality by a system of Communism, and pull down the better men to the level of the worse, whereas our efforts should be to raise the worse to the level of the better. This is a question that cannot be settled by forms of government; but whether Great Britain remains a Constitutional Monarchy or becomes a Republic, her future will depend much upon the intellectual and moral character of her representatives.

This is certain: the time has come for the worker to be most honoured, and the drone despised.

"Toil is ours, but toil is the lot of man."

Occupation—that's the thing! There is scope for every kind of brain—the lowest to the highest, in labour, scientific labour, the value of which is much under-estimated. "Where the untrained eye will see nothing but mire and dirt, science will often reveal exquisite possibilities. The mud we tread under our feet is a grimy mixture of clay and sand, soot and water. Separate the same, however; let the atoms arrange themselves in peace according to their nature, and you have the opal. Separate the clay, and it becomes a white earth, fit for the finest porcelain; or if it still further purifies itself, you have a sapphire. Take the soot, and if properly treated it will give you a diamond. While, lastly, the water purified and distilled, will become a dewdrop,

or crystallise into a lovely star. . . . . Boyle entitles one of his essays "Of man's great ignorance of the uses of natural things; or, that there is no one thing in nature whereof the uses to human life are thoroughly understood"—a saying which is still as true as when it was written. And, lest I should be supposed to be taking too sanguine a view, let me give the authority of Sir John Herschel, who says, "Since it cannot but be that innumerable and most important uses remain to be discovered among the materials and objects already known to us, as well as among those which the progress of science must hereafter disclose, we may hence conceive a well grounded expectation, not only of constant increase in the physical resources of mankind, and the consequent improvement of their condition, but of continual accession to our power of penetrating into the arcana of nature, and becoming acquainted with her highest laws." "Nor is it merely in a material point of view that science would thus benefit the nation .She will raise and strengthen the national, as surely as the individual character. In the words of Epictetus you "will confer the greatest boon on your city, not by raising the roofs, but by exalting the souls of your fellow citizens; for it is better that great souls should live in small habitations, than that abject slaves should burrow in great houses." (On the study of science, SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, *The Contemporary Review*, 1886.)

I heartily endorse the opinion of Epictetus. We must improve man to get rid of the misery that surrounds us, the redemption of the poorest class cannot be brought about by any system of equalization; the improvement of society cannot come by the rush of the starved masses upon us from below, revolution means destruction. "These great destructive shocks of our human nature, these terrific outbursts of national passion, only perpetuate the mischief they aim to destroy. You replace one selfishness by another, a first system of grab by a second, doing great hurt on the way; and nothing is bettered. It must come, if it is to come at all, by the slowly beginning, yet ever-increasing tendency of the cultured and well-to-do, to replace benevolence by justice, to resign voluntarily unmerited and unfair privileges, to leave off the worship

of power and possessions and exemption from toil, and every form of monopoly. In short, the redemption of society can only spring through the standard of actions being set up by living deeds."

> "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control:
> These three alone lend life to sovereign power,
> Yet not for power (power of herself
> Would come uncalled-for), but to live by law;
> Acting the law we live by without fear."
>
> (TENNYSON.)

The days of privilege are numbered, the times require of all acts, every life must show 'something attempted, something done.' The nation wants 'Thinkers and Workers.' The principal cause of our progress the last half century has been the increase of our manufacturing power. Therefore I claim for the manufacturing and distributing class the credit for the progress made; but I go farther, and say that the landowners have not helped in the past, and are a bar to progress at present. They are like 'Parasites' living on some other living thing, and unless checked the result will be similar to that of "the parasitical plant which absolutely killed the supporting tree." (DE QUINCEY.)

The following examples will explain the action of the two classes.—It was only half a century ago (1836) that the late Sir Titus Salt first saw alpaca wool; and worked, and hoped, and despaired—as all such men have to—until at last he makes the world a present of a new fabric, and founded the alpaca colony, Saltaire, with its leviathan factory maintaining a community of six thousand inhabitants, and its public buildings, its public park, literary institute, almshouses (£30,000 was bequeathed, the income of which was to be appropriated for the benefit of the sick and aged poor of Saltaire and neighbourhood). The strenuous efforts made for the social welfare and elevation of the people, justify my statement that a man like the late Sir Titus Salt does more for his country than any land owner that ever lived. You must not forget that in addition to the community at Saltaire, the merchants in selling, railways and others in distributing,—all employ a large number of men, who are indebted to men like Salt for a means of living.

Mr. S. C. Lister is another hero who deserves the highest praise at our hands. In 'Fortunes made in Business,' we are told how many years he had to struggle, the difficulties he had to contend with; the persistence and faith to spend £360,000 (before he made a shilling by it), in perfecting machinery for the manufacture of silk waste—*rubbish*—into velvet fabrics of great beauty. In addition to the difficulty in making the machine, there was training labour to use it, and getting the articles distributed. All this Mr. Lister has done. The mills at Manningham, used wholly and solely for the purpose of utilising waste from all over the world, gives employment to four thousand people.

Jute is another article that the old "Legitimists" called "unmitigated trash." What has the utilization of this article done for Dundee? In 1837 the whole steam power employed for spinning purposes in Dundee did not exceed 1,000 horses. In 1887 Dundee imported from India 1,060,359 bales of jute, the spinning of which keeps over 7,000 looms going in India, and the conveyance of it here required 78 vessels. The population of Dundee was 45,355 in 1831; and 142,154 in 1881;—more than *trebled* in half a century,—and all doing well, thanks to the Aristocracy of Labour. Dundee owes much of its prosperity to William Baxter and his sons. In 1836 they set up the first successful power loom factory in Dundee, therein alone employing 300 workpeople. May 18th, 1888, Messrs. Baxter Bros. wrote me:—"We ourselves now employ 4,000 hands." Like Salt, Lister and others, this family think of others. The University College recently established, through the munificence of the late Miss Baxter and Dr. Boyd Baxter, who devoted the sum of £150,000 for its erection and endowment, is a splendid institution. The late Sir David Baxter also left the sum of £20,000 (which has now increased to about £26,000) for the purpose of establishing a technical school for the instruction of artizans in their various trades and arts, so as to enable them to perform their duties with the highest efficiency.

Hawick is a good example of how much of our progress the last half century is due to the enterprise of our manufacturers. In 1838 the population was 5,306; in 1888 it is estimated to be over

21,000. The amount of money paid in wages in 1838 was £48,000, and in 1888 it is over £250,000. The trade of Hawick consists of the carding and spinning of yarn, the manufacture of hosiery, tweeds, etc. In 1838, in addition to the yarns consumed in Hawick, about £25,000 worth were exported to Leicester, Dumfries, etc. In 1838 no yarns were imported. In 1888 the sale of yarns has increased to £80,000, and about £100,000 worth is imported to be made into Hosiery and Tweeds. In the manufacture of Hosiery there would be in 1838 about 1,500 persons employed, there being then 1,200 hand stocking frames, but no power frames. The wages paid at that time to the stocking makers would not exceed £25 each per annum; the value of the goods produced being only about £100,000. In 1888 there are 2,500 to 3,000 persons employed in the Hosiery trade, but the number of hand frames will not exceed 500, and these are the "Improved frames" by which a stocking maker can produce more than double what he could fifty years ago; and the stocking maker earns on the average £50 a year, as compared with £25 in 1838. In addition there are now power frames in every factory, and the Hosiery trade has increased from £100,000 in 1838 to £270,000 in 1888. The great increase is in the Tweed trade. In 1838 there were only 120 hand looms in Hawick, and 40 power looms, producing about £80,000 worth of goods. In 1888 the hand looms are about the same, but the power looms have increased to about 1,100, producing £800,000 worth of cloth. The following gives us a comparison of Hawick at the two periods :—

	1838.	1888.
Yarns manufactured but not used at Hawick	£25,000	£80,000
Hosiery manufactured at Hawick	100,000	270,000
Tweeds, &c. do.	80,000	800,000
	£205,000	£1,150,000
Population	5,306	21,000
Wages paid to the operatives	£48,000	£250,000

I have to thank Mr. Walter Laing, of Hawick, for the above details. The same may be said, more or less, of Lancashire, Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, and all our manufacturing districts.

From 1800 to 1845 was about the worst period for the labouring classes of Great Britain. According to the most reliable statistics the working man earns 20 or 25 per cent. more than in 1840, and the prices of necessaries have mostly fallen. In 1886 there were ten million depositors in Savings' Banks and members of Friendly Societies, whose savings amounted to 160 millions sterling. But in comparing the operative of 1886 with 1836, we must not forget the altered way of doing things. Mr. J. W. Denham, of Huddersfield, writes me May 14th, 1888. "Half a century ago, in and about Huddersfield there would be a mill or mills, but very small in comparison with those there now. The wool was worked therein by hand slubbing and spinning, and from which the yarn would be given out to weavers, who would take it to their homes, where they would warp and weave it in hand-looms into pieces, which they would take back to the mill to be given out to women to take to their homes to mend, etc., and then take back to the mill." What a waste of time and toil. The rapid increase of machinery the last half century in the various manufacturing processes, which has so immensely facilitated production, has also served to lessen the amount of excessive physical labour, while the rate of wages has been augmented. It is to the credit of the men who have been instrumental in the nation's progress that they have thought of others as well as themselves. The few examples given indicate how such men as Salt, Lister, Baxter, and others have made their money, and how in the making of it, they have been the means of enabling others to do likewise.

If we enquire into how the landowners got their wealth, we shall find the opposite results: not by their inventive genius, or enterprise, but by the appropriation of the proceeds of the result due to the enterprise of others. Lord Beaconsfield has told us in one of his novels that "we owe the English Peerage to three sources:—the spoliation of the Church, the open and flagrant sale of its honours by the elder Stuarts, and the borough-mongering of our own times. These are the three main sources of the existing Peerage of England, and, in my opinion, dis-

graceful ones." . . . "Their enormous incomes are of comparatively modern growth. We have it on established evidence that shortly after the Restoration, the revenue of the greatest estates in the kingdom was only about £20,000 per annum; and this applies only to such men as the Dukes of Ormond, Buckingham, and Albemarle. Compare these with the Dukes of Westminster and Portland, or the Marquis of Bute or Lord Derby, or a score of others mentioned in the preceding chapters—("Our old nobility.")

How is it that the Dukes of Westminster and Portland have increased their incomes? Is it by founding new industries like Salt or Lister, or is it because as stated by "Liberal Conservative" in the *Estates Gazette*, that when "a tradesman's lease expires, and he applies for renewal to the big freeholder owning the whole of the street, and most probably many adjoining streets. Now the big freeholder says, 'Here is a wealthy tradesman, who, from the nature of his business, must keep in this street; therefore I will ask him an excessive rent, and mulct him of a heavy fine, which he must pay, or lose his business.'" Before the Town Holdings' Committee I stated the above to be the present practice by the agents of the large landowners. Is it true? "All the leases for ninety-nine years over the greater part of the Portman Estate fell in on the 25th March last. They are said to number 1,786. . . These are the terms for renewals:—If the house is worth say £200 a year, improve the property by putting on an extra storey, and modernise the house throughout; pay a premium of £1,400, and a rent of £80 a year (instead of £10) for a lease of 40 years. Or, if the story be not added and the house modernised, only a lease of 25 years is granted at £80 a year rent and £1,400 premium. Or, if no capital be expended, a lease for 7, 14, or 21 years is given at a rack rent, the tenant only doing repairs. The premiums out of Baker Street alone are £120,000; and the gross sum taken by the Portman family in premiums out of their gold mine in and about Baker Street, is stated to be £1,250,000, besides an increase of rent on or before Lady Day, 1888, from one thousand to eight thousand pounds per annum." (*Sunday Times*, April 15, 1888.)

What a contrast—Salt *versus* Portman. The one develops an industry, finds profitable employment, creates a colony of workers, is broad-minded, thoughtful and considerate for the material and moral welfare of all those that are under him. The other crushes industry and enterprise, takes the heart out of the workers, or disperses those who will not, or think they cannot earn enough to pay the extortionate exactions. What does Viscount Portman care? He has the ready reply, "You are a 'Free Agent,' and if you don't like to pay what I ask you can go." But it is as unwise as it is cruel: unwise to make the middle class discontented, cruel to demand premiums that absorb the capital by which alone the tradesman can carry on his business; or demand a rent that virtually appropriates the tradesman's chance of putting a little by for to live upon when unfit for labour; or in many cases ultimately making him a bankrupt.

His Grace the Duke of Westminster claims credit for rebuilding and improving his property; but is there any credit due to a man who uses or abuses his power, to compel men to invest the capital they want to carry on their business, in building superior houses at a cost of £7,000 to £9,000 that at the end of the lease will revert to the Duke's children?

The Duke of Bedford is equally merciless; and I for one should like to know how much longer the English people will patiently submit to being inconvenienced, and their time lost, because this nobleman claims the right to put gates across the road upon his property, seeing the road and the public highways are the people's? Perhaps his Grace has an Act of Parliament for this privilege, as he has for the monopoly given him by Act of Parliament in 1823, by which "a toll of ½*d.* is fixed on each sieve or bushel, and so on for any greater or less quantity in proportion. Millions of packages of fruit, flowers, and vegetables arrive yearly from France, Germany. Spain, Portugal, and other countries, and for each packet a fee of from ½*d.* to 4*d.* is charged. For apples, pears, plums, apricots, peaches, nectarines, gooseberries and currants a toll of ½*d.* per sieve or bushel, and so on in proportion for any greater or less quantity. For carrots a toll

of 1*s.* 6*d.* per score dozen bunches, and so on, etc. For oranges, a toll of 4*d.* per chest, and 2*d.* per box, and so on, etc. The schedule of the rents, tolls, and sums of money to be payable and paid in the several parts of Covent Garden Market would quite fill a column of the *Sunday Times* in the type of this article." (*Sunday Times*, April 29, 1888.)

Is this Free Trade? Would such a system of legalised blackmail be allowed in America? Is it right that the price of these articles, so necessary to the health of the people should be enhanced by a monopoly of this kind? How long will Englishmen submit to the exactions of this privileged class? Who are the real revolutionists? Why men like these, who act as if they lived in the middle ages; selfish autocrats, who act as if the people were still their serfs. "With their large acres, their vast wealth, their exalted position, how much might the peers of the United Kingdom achieve! With but very few exceptions, their translation of the phrase "*Noblesse oblige*" seems to be, "Nobility obliges us to do nothing." (Our old Nobility.)

The privileged classes should remember that:—"He who, when he hath the power, doeth not good, when he loses the means, will suffer distress. There is not a more unfortunate wretch than the oppressor; for in the day of adversity nobody is his friend." In all things but more especially in using power, or in legislation, we want a desire to rigidly adhere to the law. "What thou wouldst not like to be done to you, do not to others." "Our human laws are but the copies, more or less imperfect, of the eternal laws so far as we can read them, and either succeed and promote our welfare or fail and bring confusion and disaster, according as the legislator's insight has detected the true principle, or has been distorted by ignorance or selfishness.." (FROUDE.)

There is one lesson legislators have yet to learn, the impartiality of God's government. The Creator's laws make no distinction, but treat all men alike, peer or peasant—

"The first Almighty cause
Acts not by partial, but by general laws."

If our laws were based upon the Eternal laws, justice would

be synonymous with law. Is it so? We have "the fact that men may do with impunity in one place what they are punished for if they do it in another. If men meet in Hyde Park for the purpose of betting, and are caught in the act, imprisonment will surely follow, though the stakes may only consist of a few shillings. In the Royal enclosure at Ascot the "curled darlings of the nation" may sacrifice their maternal acres to any extent without fear of the law. I remember asking a man learned in the law to explain this anomaly, and he acknowledged his inability; at the same time enquiring whether I was aware that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor." *(Frith's Reminiscences.)*

To those who doubt this, I submit a few examples. The landowner wants £500 for his land, or he will let it upon a building lease for 80 years at £25 a year. If a man can borrow the £500 of a friend, and pay him 5 per cent. interest, when he repays the £500 the land and the house he has put thereon are his own property; but if he pays the £25 as rent, instead of interest, at the end of the 80 years the landowner not only gets his land, but the house that has been put upon it. If a man fails in business, the creditors have to take so much in the pound, but the landlord gets his money in full. All house property—leasehold and freehold—pays succession duty, but notice how unequally the two are treated by the law. "The interest in a leasehold house valued at £5,000 paid both probate and succession duty, which came to £150. A freehold of the same value paid succession duty, but not probate duty, on the value of the life interest, which was £25 as compared with £150. . . . . In the case of a ground rent of the value of £5,000, which produced the owner £50 a year the death duties were 24 times less than in the case of a leasehold house. . . Collieries, as a general rule, were leased subject to royalties, and were usually worked by a partnership. It was one of the anomalies of these taxes that while the lessees of a colliery paid not only all the local rates but also probate and legacy duty, the owner of the colliery, who received the royalty, was subject only to succession duty."

I repeat the question asked by Mr. Goschen in 1871 :—"Will our people endure for ever that the owner of mining royalties shall receive vast sums from the enterprise and industry of others without helping to bear the local burdens which the State imposes for the public good?"

Why does the inheritor of personal estate pay the succession duty at once, while the landowner is allowed to pay his in eight half-yearly instalments? Why does the occupier of a house have to pay increased rent to enable the builder of a house, or the buyer of it, to get back his capital before the lease expires? Why does the occupier of a house pay all the rates and taxes—land tax included—and the owner only pay the property tax? Because there is a law for the rich and a law for the poor. Because we Englishmen lack the wisdom to elect as our representatives only such men as will devote their energies to remove from our statute books laws made by landowners to protect their own interests. We want, in every parish in the kingdom, meetings and united action to abolish all privileges, and to see that justice is done. These landowners' rights are relics of the past, when men were little better than serfs. "Force and right rule all things in the world: force, before right arrives." (JOUBART.) The time has arrived for right to supersede force. If wise, our large landowners will take the initiative: at least be merciful in their exactions. Whether the future government of Great Britain is to be Monarchical or Democratic, the people are now the majority; the days of autocratic administration and vested interests are numbered; the abolition of privileges, and the law doing equal justice to all, is only a question of time.

THE END.

SUTTON, SURREY: PRINTED BY CHRISTOPHER HOLT.

MAY 8 - 1952